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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Land and the People



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Questions

1. In what way were explorers in the new world unfair or unjust to native people (Indians)?
2. Why did Spanish officials try to "civilize" Indians?
3. What bad opinions did Indians have of some Christian explorers? Why?
4. What kind of advice was given for building a settlement in Jamestown? What seemed to be the main concern?

The Land and the People

Christopher Columbus Describes the New World

Christopher Columbus landed on the island of San Salvador in the West Indies. But he thought he had reached the coast of China. In this letter to the king and queen of Spain, he describes the land and the people.

All the people are of a good height and very handsome. Their hair is not curly. It is loose and coarse like horsehair. Their forehead is broader than in any other people I have seen. Their eyes are very beautiful and not small. They are the color of the people in the Canary Islands [a Spanish possession]. Their legs are very straight.

As soon as we reached the island which I have named Johana [Cuba], I sailed along the coast. I found it so large that I believed it was not an island but a continent, a province of China. Then later, I learned from the natives that it was an island.

All the islands near here are very fertile. They are full of trees reaching to the stars. I think these never



lose their leaves. There are also seven or eight kinds of palms. There are also wonderful pinewoods, meadows, and fields. There are birds of various kinds and honey and all the different metals except iron.

Most of the inhabitants go as naked as when they came into the world. Since they have no iron, they do not know about guns or swords. They are also timid and full of terror. They carry, however, canes dried in the sun instead of weapons. They fix a wooden shaft, sharpened to a point, on the end of the cane. But they never dared to use it on us.

It often happened that I sent two or three of my men into their villages. A crowd of Indians would come out to look at them. But then they would run away. This happened not because any loss or injury had been done to them. They are by nature fearful and timid. But when they see that they are safe, then all fear is gone. They are very honest and generous with what they have. They will give you anything you wish, if they have it.

They show the greatest affection toward all of us. They exchange valuable things for almost nothing at all. But I forbade giving them things of no value such as bits of plates, dishes, or glass. But to them these seemed the most beautiful jewels in the world. One sailor gave them a single strap and received in return a lot of gold. This I forbade, because it was plainly unjust.

The Indians do not worship idols. They believe that all power comes from heaven. They believe that I have come down from there with these ships and sailors.

In all these islands, every man is satisfied with only one wife. But princes or kings can have twenty wives. The women appear to work more than the men. But I could not tell if they have private property or not. I saw that whatever one had was shared with others.



I found among them no monsters, as many expected. But I did hear accounts of a very fierce race. They eat human flesh and carry off anything and anyone they can. They use bows and arrows made of reeds. Other Indians are very much afraid of them.

I am bringing to Their Majesties as much gold as they have need for. I am also bringing spices, cotton, aloeswood, and many heathen [not Christian] slaves.

These things have all been done as I have told you.

Christopher Columbus
Admiral of the Ocean Fleet

Civilizing the Indians

The following Royal Order was issued by the king of Spain, Philip II, to his officials in the New World on May 26, 1570.

The Indian inhabitants are not gathered into towns. This makes it difficult to convert them and to control them. Our religious people are unable to go everywhere to visit the Indians. They are scattered over the mountains and deserts. In addition, the Indians run away when they see the priests coming. They do not want their way of life to be changed. Living as they do, they are better able to rob and kill both Spaniards and peaceful Indians on the highways. They have done this often. The Indians therefore should be made to live in towns.

This plan has been discussed by the members of our Council of the Indies. They believe the Indians will benefit by it. Therefore I have approved it. I do now command you to issue orders to gather the Indians in the towns. There they may live in a civilized manner.



They will have their organized government. They will be better able to communicate with each other. They will have better order and system in their life.

Whatever you may do in this matter, we shall accept as service to us. You will report to us how this order is carried out.

Cabeza de Vaca's Return to Civilization

In 1526 Cabeza de Vaca left Spain on an ill-fated expedition. Its purpose was to conquer and govern for Spain the territory extending from Florida to the Rio Grande. The expedition was shipwrecked and the survivors were attacked by Indians. Cabeza de Vaca was able to find two other members of the expedition. They set out together in hopes of finding the rest of the expedition. For eight years they wandered. They crossed what is now the southwestern part of the United States and the northern part of Mexico. They never gave up hope of someday returning to civilization. Finally some friendly Indians told them of seeing white men on horseback. The Indians offered to help de Vaca find the men. When de Vaca caught up with the men on horseback, he was pleased to find that they were Spaniards. But his pleasure turned to horror when the Spaniards wanted to enslave his Indian companions.

The following is part of a letter de Vaca wrote to the ruler of Spain. He describes his meeting with the first "civilized" people he has seen in nine years.

The next morning I came upon four Christians on horseback who, seeing me in such a strange attire and



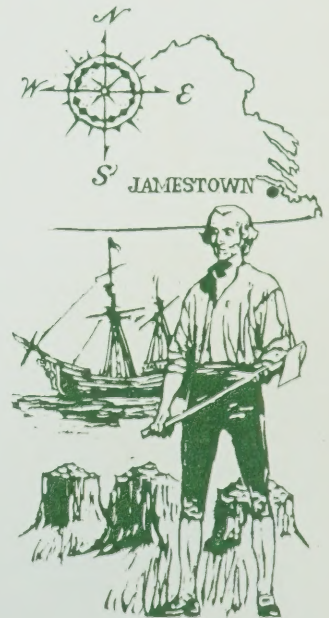
in company with Indians, were greatly startled. We had many and bitter quarrels with the Christians, for they would make slaves of our Indians. We grew very angry at that. The Christians, too, were very angry. They had their interpreter make a fine speech. He told our Indians that we were Christians, too. But, he said, we had gone astray for a long time. We were people of no luck and little heart, but the Christians on horseback, he said, were the real Christians. They were the lords of the land to be obeyed and served.

The Indians paid little attention. They talked among themselves. Then they answered that the real Christians on horseback had lied. The Indians said that we could not possibly be Christians. We appeared out of the sunrise, they said. The real Christians had arrived out of the sunset. We cured the sick, while they killed even the healthy. We went naked and barefoot, while they wore clothes and rode horseback and stuck people with lances. We asked for nothing and gave away what we were given. They never gave anybody anything and had no other aim than to steal.

Instructions on How to Build a Settlement

These are the instructions from the Virginia Company sent to the men who founded Jamestown, Virginia.

When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, find a safe port. It should be at the entrance of some river. Choose one that runs farthest into the land. If you find two that do, choose the one that bendeth most toward the northwest. That way, you



shall soonest find the other sea. [They were still looking for the Northwest Passage to Asia.]

Make a choice of the river on which you mean to settle. Do not be hasty in landing your food and ammunitions. First, let Captain Newport discover how far upstream boats can go. You may find a place about 100 miles from the river's mouth. The further up, the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, an enemy may approach and easily put you out.

You will do well to make the following protection. First, build a little stone house for ten men at the mouth of the river. Then when any fleet comes, the men can quickly come upriver and warn you.

Secondly, you must not let any of the native people of the country live between you and the seacoast. If you allow this, you neglect your safety.

Set your houses even and in line. Make your streets wide. Have your marketplace in a square. Every street should lead to it. In this way, you can command every street with a few guns.

You shall do well to send a report by Captain Newport of all you have done. What height you are settled. How far into the land you are. What goods you find. What soil and what kinds of wood. Let no man return but by a passport from the president and council. No one should write any letter that may discourage others from coming.

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Virginia



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The selections in this book were adapted from the following sources: **Page 3:** John William Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, London, 1898. **Page 4:** *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavas Vassa, the African*, written by himself, London, 1789. **Page 6:** Edward Arber, ed., *Captain John Smith of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire, Works 1608-1631*, Birmingham, 1884. **Page 7:** Peter Force, *The Beginning, Progress and Conclusion of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia in the Years 1675 and 1676*, Washington, 1835.

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Questions

1. What kinds of problems and dangers did early colonists of Virginia have to face?
2. Why did some problems cause violence in colonial Virginia?
3. Why did settlers in the New World need to have good governors?
4. Why were people in Africa captured and enslaved?
What kinds of conditions were they forced to endure on ships to the New World?

Virginia

Cutting the Production of Tobacco in Virginia

Tobacco was the principal money crop in Virginia for the first hundred years of its existence. There was disagreement, however, on how to regulate its price and on how to market tobacco. The following is a report made by the secretary of the colony of Virginia in 1682. In it, he says that tobacco prices are so low that some farmers are using force to reduce production. This, they hoped, would raise the price of tobacco.

I have bad news to write. The peace of the colony is endangered by some persons. Many people of Gloucester County have taken the law into their own hands. They have decided to plant no tobacco this year. They began cutting up their own plants. They did this on plantation after plantation. They told planters that if they did not destroy their plants willingly, they would be made to do it by force. In an hour's time, they destroyed all the plants that 20 men had planted during an entire summer. These outrages



were in progress for nearly three days before the lieutenant governor knew about it. The council, which was in Jamestown, at once issued orders to stop such acts. Colonel Kemp was sent with soldiers to stop the revolt. They came upon 22 men in the very act of destroying plants. Two of the rogues were arrested. The others said they wouldn't do it again. So they were released. But I fear that the contagion will spread. We received news today that the same thing was happening in the next county, New Kent. We have taken the same measure of sending the militia to stop it.

We have some hope that the growth of the revolt may be stopped. But I have doubts. The low price of tobacco has made the people desperate. So they have decided to cut the production.

The Slave Ship

Olaudah Equiano was kidnapped as a child from his native village near present-day Nigeria. He was one of the few slaves to become educated. This is part of his writings which described his capture and how he came to the New World. He was given the name Gustavus Vassa by the ship's captain. Gustave was a sixteenth-century Swedish king.

One day, all our people were gone out to work as usual. My sister and I were left to mind the house. Suddenly, two men and a woman got over our walls. In a moment, they seized us both. We had no time to cry out or fight back. They stopped our mouths and

ran off with us into the woods. Here they tied our hands and carried us on till nightfall.

Finally, we reached the seacoast. The first thing that I saw was a slave ship. It rode at anchor and waited for its cargo. I was terrified. I was carried on board where people handled me and tossed me up in the air to be sure I was in good health.

I was sure that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits. I thought they were going to kill me. Their skin was so different from ours. They had long hair, and their language was like something I had never heard.

At last, when the ship was ready to go, we were put below deck. The stench of the hold was almost more than anyone could stand. The closeness of the place and the heat almost suffocated us. There was hardly any room to turn around, we were so crowded. Many slaves became sick. Many died. Our condition was made worse because we had to wear chains. The women screamed and the dying groaned. It was like living in a nightmare. But this was real.

I learned that we were being taken to white people's country. We were supposed to work for them there. This wouldn't be so bad, I thought, if they did not kill me.

The white people looked and acted mean. I have never seen such cruelty. They acted as badly toward other whites as they did to us. One white man was flogged until he died. Then they just threw him over the side like a dead beast.

After many days, we came in sight of land. After landing, we were taken to a merchant's yard. We were all put in a pen like so many sheep. Men, women, and children were all together. In a few days, we were sold in the usual manner.





On a signal (the beat of a drum), the buyers rush at once into the yard where the slaves are kept. They choose those they like best. The noise and confusion increased our terror. In this manner, relatives and friends were separated. Most of them never saw each other again.

The Starving Time

The winter of 1609–10 was very bad for the colonists at Jamestown. A few months earlier, their leader Captain John Smith had returned to London. Without his control and organization, the colonists nearly died. This is part of a report by a settler who lived through that terrible winter.

We soon found out how much we missed Captain Smith. We got no corn or food from the savages. We got only mortal wounds with clubs and arrows. As for our hogs, hens, goats, sheep, and horses, our officers and the savages ate them. Sometimes we got a taste. Things were so bad that in six months after Smith's departure only sixty people were left alive out of five hundred. We were the most miserable poor creatures.

We were kept alive by roots, herbs, acorns, walnuts, berries, now and then a little fish. Some even ate the skins of our horses.

So great was our hunger that some killed an Indian and ate him. Another was boiled and stewed with roots and herbs. One man killed his wife, powdered [salted] her, and had eaten part of her before it was known. He was executed, as he well deserved. Now, whether she was better roasted, boiled, or

carbonadoed [broiled], I know not. But of such a dish as powdered wife, I never heard.

This was that time which still to this day, we call the starving time. It is too awful to speak about. One can hardly believe what we went through. But it was our own fault. We did not have the luck, or industry, or good government. It was not the barrenness of the country as is generally supposed. With the governors we had, we would not have done much better even had we been in paradise.

But God wanted to see this country populated. So we did not all die. Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Sommers with 150 people sailed into port and saved us.

Bacon's Rebellion

In the spring of 1676, Indians were killing many white settlers in the Piedmont area of Virginia. The governor, however, regarded the Indians as the subjects of the king of England. He would not call out the army to punish the Indians. Also, he did not want to ruin his fur-trading business with them.

Men in the border regions were furious at the governor because of this. They were also angry because the House of Burgesses had sat for years without an election. It seemed that the ruling class cared only for themselves. The interests of the smaller planters were not being cared for by the Tidewater rulers.

At this point, Nathaniel Bacon, a hotheaded young man of 26, became the leader of the men from the Piedmont. He marched to the House of Burgesses in Virginia and demanded that the governor permit him to fight the Indians.



The following is an eyewitness account of the meeting.

The drums beat for the House to meet. In less than an hour Bacon came with soldiers on either side. Near the corner of the statehouse, the governor and council went to meet him. Bacon was strutting between his two files of men. He flung his right arm every which way.

The governor then walked toward his private apartment. The gentlemen of the council followed him. After them came Bacon with those strange gestures. After him came the soldiers.

The soldiers went up to the windows of the General Assembly. They stuck their guns in the windows. Over and over they shouted: "We will have it. We will have it." [They wanted the governor's permission to kill the Indians who had been killing the settlers].

Some official stuck his hand out the window. He waved his handkerchief and said: "You shall have it. You shall have it."

At these words, the soldiers set down their guns. But the governor was furious. A servant of mine got so near the governor that he heard him say: "Here, shoot me. Before God, shoot."

Then Bacon said: "No, Your Honor, we will not hurt a hair of your head. We are come for permission to save our lives from the Indians. You have often promised us this. Now we will have it before we go."

The governor still refused to give it. Bacon then led a rebellion against him. He gathered an army of planters and went out to kill Indians. The governor called for troops from England to stop Bacon. A civil war was near. But then Bacon died, and the governor was recalled to England. The first rebellion in the New World came to an end.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

New England



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Questions

1. Why did Thomas Morton believe the Puritans were intolerant?
2. In what ways did people in colonial New England govern themselves?
3. Why was it necessary for people in the early settlements to care for each other and share with one another?
4. How do the readings show that religion was an important part of daily life in early New England?

New England

On Puritan Intolerance

The Englishman Thomas Morton did not get along with the Puritans in Massachusetts. They did not think he was a good person, so they chased him away. Back in England, Morton published this report on Puritan intolerance. It was published in 1632.

Into Massachusetts came Sir Christopher Gardiner. He was a well-traveled man. He was a mathematician and also an engineer. He was interested in science and exploration.

But the Separatists do not love these virtues in a man unless he is a Separatist. Whenever they find a man who may not agree with their church and state, they attack him. They try to speak badly of him. They spread their gossip like butter upon a loaf. They pretend that the man is as bad as a spotted, unclean leper. They say that he must leave the country or he will dirty the land and the people. They can spread bad gossip on even the most innocent person. Still, the bad reputation that they give a person is never wiped out. The stain remains.



This is the way they dealt with Sir Christopher. They plotted in every way they could to ruin him. Therefore, I do believe that these Separatists are full of envy and spite.

Once when they knew he was away in the country, they came to his house and burned it down. But not before they took away a lot of his goods. They excused their acts by saying that Sir Christopher was a wicked man. But they call anyone who disagrees with them wicked.

Massachusetts Bay Colony Declares Its Rights

In 1661, the General Court of Massachusetts wanted to remind England of Massachusetts's power to govern itself. So it published what it considered the rights of Massachusetts and its duties of allegiance to the king.

Concerning our liberties:

- The charter [of the Massachusetts Bay Colony] is the first and main foundation of our government.
- The governor and company are, by the charter, a political body in name and in fact.
- This body politic has power to make freemen.
- These freemen have power to choose each year a governor, deputy governor, assistants, and their representatives.
- This government also has the power to set up all sorts of officers. It can also point out their power.
- The governor, deputy governor, assistants, and select representatives have full power. They have both legislative and executive powers. They have final authority to govern all people here in both religious

and civil matters. But they cannot pass laws which are against the laws of England.

- The government has the power to defend the country by land and by sea. It can defend itself against any and all persons who shall try to invade, attack, or annoy people here.

Concerning our duties of allegiance:

- We must uphold and maintain this place as of right belonging to our sovereign lord the king. We must not give this place to any foreign prince or ruler.

- We should try to protect His Majesty's royal person, and his lands and dominions. We should try, as much as possible, to discover and prevent all plots against him.

- We should seek the peace and prosperity of our king and nation. To do this, we should faithfully fulfill the duties of governing the people in our care. This means to punish all crimes against the peace of our king and his crown and dignity. We should also defend and preach the true Christian or Protestant religion. Our sovereign is the "defender of the faith." The people here may appeal to the king against all who shall try to violate their privileges.

The General Court also declares that anyone trying to escape justice in England will not receive shelter or protection here.



The First Winter at Plymouth

This is an account by William Bradford concerning the first winter he and his companions spent at Plymouth in 1620.



In these hard and difficult beginnings, there was some grumbling. But it was soon stopped by the wisdom, patience, and justice of the governor. But the saddest and most horrible thing was the winter. In two or three months' time, nearly half of the company died. It was the middle of winter. People did not have houses and other comforts. Many had scurvy and other disease from the long sea voyage. Of the 102 people, barely 50 remained. But there were 6 or 7 healthy people who did their best to help the sick. They fetched wood, made fires, cooked meat, and washed clothes. They did all the unpleasant things which must be done for helpless sick people.

Some of the sailors on the ship (which had not yet returned to England) became ill also. Before that, they had made fun of the sick colonists. But when they also became ill, the settlers cared for them. One sailor admitted that he did not deserve such kindness from them. He admitted that he had spoken unkindly of them. Said he: "Now I see how you show your love like Christians to one another. But we let one another die like dogs."

All this while, the Indians were not far off. They would sneak up and steal things. Once they stole some tools while the others were having dinner.

But about March 16, an Indian came boldly up to them. He spoke to them in a little English. He said he had learned it from English fishermen who had once landed some distance away. He told them about various parts of the country. His name was Samoset. He told them of another Indian whose name was Squanto. He had been in England and could speak better English than Samoset. Four or five days later, the Indian returned again with Squanto and with their chief, Massasoit. They exchanged gifts and made a peace with Massasoit. This peace has now continued



for 24 years. Here are the terms of the peace.

- Neither the settlers nor the Indians would hurt one another.
- If a settler hurt an Indian, the white would be sent to the Indians for punishment. The same was true if an Indian hurt a settler.
- If anything was taken away, by Indian or white, it should be returned.
- If anyone made unjust war against the settlers, the Indians would aid the settlers. The same would happen if the Indians were attacked unjustly by other Indians or whites.
- When Indians came into the white settlements, they should leave their bows and arrows behind.

Rules at Harvard College

In 1638, a New Englander, John Harvard, died leaving his library and half of his estate to a two-year-old school in Cambridge, Massachusetts. This school was then named Harvard College. It is the oldest college in the United States. Below are the rules and regulations which the students had to follow.

- No student can enter the college unless he can speak and read Latin well.
- The student must learn that the main purpose of his studies and his life is to learn the teachings of Jesus Christ.
- The Bible should be read twice a day. Students should be able to discuss it sensibly.
- There will be no swearing.
- Students must attend classes faithfully and on time.



- Students may not associate with people who lead an “unfit” life. Nor shall any student leave and go to any other town without the permission of his tutor.
- Every student must be in his teacher’s room at 7:00 in the morning. He must also be there at 5:00 in the afternoon. He must explain what he has read during the day.
- Any student who breaks any law of God or of the school may be punished.

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Pennsylvania



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Page 4: William Meade, ed., *Sermons Addressed to Masters and Servants and Published in the Year 1743 by the Reverend Thomas Bacon*, Winchester, 1813. **Page 5:** Anthony Benezet, *A Brief Statement of the Rise and Progress of the Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends Against Slavery and the Slave Trade*, Philadelphia, 1843. **Page 6:** Gabriel Thomas, *An Account of Pennsylvania and West New Jersey*, London, 1698.

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Questions

1. Besides slaves from Africa, what other human beings were brought to the New World and traded at ports like Philadelphia? Why?
2. How did Pennsylvania colonists differ in their views on slavery?
3. Why did Quakers feel the practice of slavery was unjust and un-Christian?
4. What comparisons did Gabriel Thomas make between life in colonial Pennsylvania and life across the ocean in England?

Pennsylvania

Journey to Pennsylvania

The following is a report by Gottlieb Mittelberger. He was a German who arrived in Philadelphia in 1750 as an "indentured" servant. Indentured servants got their passage paid if they agreed to sign a contract to work for a person for a number of years. Afterwards they could go free.

When the ships land at Philadelphia, no one is permitted to leave except those who pay for their passage or give good security.

The sale of human beings is carried on in this way: Every day Englishmen, Dutchmen, and German people come from the city of Philadelphia and other places. Some come from many miles away. They go on board and select the healthy persons. They bargain with them for how long they will serve for their passage money.

When they have agreed, sometimes a person signs a contract to work for three, four, five, or six years. It depends on their age and strength. But young people from 10 to 15 must serve till they are 21 years old.



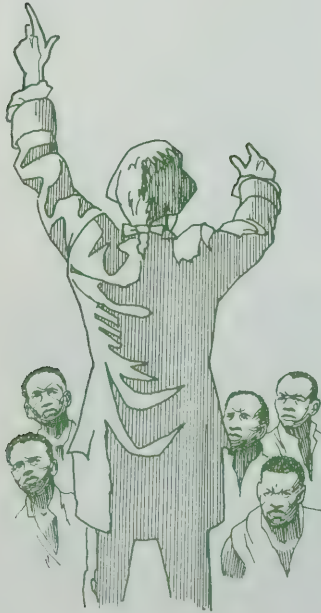


Many parents must sell and trade away their children like so many cattle. It often happens that such parents and children do not see each other again for years. Sometimes they never see each other again.

When one has served his or her term, he or she is entitled to a new suit of clothes. Sometimes a man gets a horse in addition. A woman sometimes gets a cow.

If someone in this country runs away from his master, he cannot get far. Runaways are soon recovered. The person who finds and returns runaways gets a reward. A runaway must serve a week's extra time for every day he is gone from his master. He must serve half a year's extra labor for every month he stays away.

Work consists mostly of cutting wood. Oak trees must be felled. Roots must be cleared away. Such forests being cleared are then laid out for fields and meadows. From the best wood, fences are made around the new fields. All meadows, orchards, and fruit fields are fenced in with planks. These are made of thickly split wood, laid one above the other in zigzag lines. Inside these fields, horses, cattle, and sheep are allowed to graze.



A Sermon to Black Slaves

The following is part of a sermon preached in 1743 by a Maryland minister, Thomas Bacon. He preached to a group of slaves. He reveals the white man's views at that time about slaves.

My well-beloved black brethren and sisters, when you were last here, I tried to show you the duty you

owe to God. You ought to look upon him as your great and chief master. You must one day account to him for everything you have done in this life. He is always looking upon you. He knows the way you behave.

I also tried to tell you how you should behave toward your masters and mistresses. God has set them over you on this earth. They are his stewards or overseers. He expects you will do everything for them.

Quaker Views on Slavery

The following is part of a report sent out in 1754 from the Quaker headquarters in Philadelphia. It was sent to all Quaker groups in the North and in the South. It shows the conflict in the Quakers' conscience between what is just and the custom of the country.

Dear Friends: It hath been the concern of our yearly meetings to show our uneasiness over the buying of slaves.

Now, dear friends, remember the law of doing to others as we would have them do unto us? How, then, can we think of robbing our fellow creatures of the blessing of liberty? We should not like to grow rich on slave labor. We should not live in ease and plenty on the toil of those whom violence and cruelty have put in our power. It is neither Christian nor common justice. We have good reason to believe that it displeases heaven. It is sad but true that religion declines wherever there is slavery. Keeping slaves tends to harden the heart. It empties the soul of love, meekness, and charity. These are the characteristics of a true Christian.



Many of these poor creatures are stolen away. Parents are taken from children. Children are taken from parents. They are all forced to toil in a state of slavery, and often cruel slavery. Let us make their cause our own.

Think how we would feel if we were in their place. Remember our blessed Redeemer's command to do unto others as we would have them do unto us. Our Savior said: "Love one another as I have loved you." How can we be said to love our brethren if we enslave them?

Finally, brethren, we beg you to consider setting your slaves free.

An Account of Pennsylvania

In 1689, Gabriel Thomas wrote this impression of life in Pennsylvania. He wrote it to people in England urging them to come and settle in this pleasant land.

This city of Philadelphia is situated between the Schuylkill River and the great river Delaware. It gets its name from Captain Delaware, who came there pretty early. Ships of 200 or 300 tons may come up to this city by either of these two rivers.

The air here is very delicate, pleasant, and healthful. The heavens are calm, rarely cloudy. It is much like the sky over the better part of France. After rain, there is usually a very clear sky. The climate is a little colder in the depths of winter and hotter in summer than in England. This is because it is on the mainland or continent. The days also are two hours longer in the



shortest day of winter. They are shorter by two hours in the longest day of summer. This is what makes the fruit so good and the earth so fertile.

The corn harvest is ended before the middle of July. Most years they have between 20 and 30 bushels of wheat for every bushel they sow. Their ground is harrowed [smoothed] with wooden harrows. The plow irons only need mending about twice a year.

Their horses go without being shod. Two men can clear between 20 and 30 acres of land in one year. Oxen are chiefly used to plow them. There are horses also. A cart can go through the middle of the woods right between the trees without damage. Such land will cost between 10 and 15 pounds for 100 acres [about \$75 at that time]. Poor people, both men and women, will get three times more wages for their work here than in England or Wales.

Of lawyers and physicians, I shall say nothing. This is because this country is very peaceable and healthy. Long may it so continue.

Workingmen get between 14 and 15 pounds a year. Plus that, they get their meat, drink, washing, and lodging. The maid servant's wage is usually between 6 and 10 pounds a year, with good food and a room.

The Christian children born here are generally beautiful to see. I never knew any to come into the world with the least blemish on any part of its body. In general, they seem to be better-natured, milder, and more tenderhearted than those born in England.

Reader, what I have here written is not a fiction. It is not flimflam or any sinister trick. I don't want to fool the ignorant or to curry favor with the rich and mighty. But I write in pity for the numbers of poor workingpeople in England. They look half starved and exhausted from wandering around looking for any kind of work. But here there is work. They do not need to

be idle a moment. They will have encouragement and reward for their work. Here there are no beggars to be seen. (It is a shame and disgrace to the state that there are so many in England.) Nor is there here the smallest occasion or temptation to take up a lazy life.

What I have said about this province is absolutely true. I was an eyewitness to it all.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Ideas That Shaped the Social System, 1690-1776



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Questions

1. According to Benjamin Rush how does education help people?
2. In what ways, besides education, can people improve themselves?
3. What were John Locke's ideas about the need for government?
4. Why is it necessary for people to give up some of their freedoms when they enter into a "social contract"?

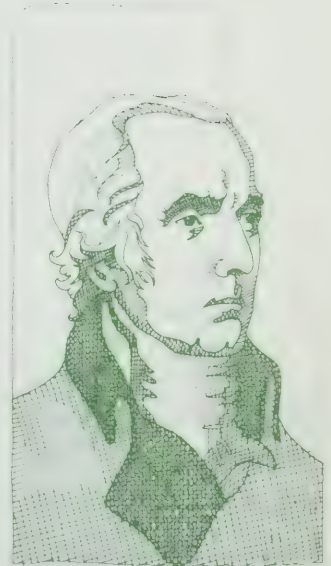
Ideas That Shaped the Social System, 1690–1776

Below are some of the views of six philosophers. They all reflect the spirit of the Enlightenment, that man is getting better and wiser in every way.

Education Improves People

The advantages of learning upon mankind are these:

1. Learning helps people understand religion. It removes prejudice and superstition. It helps people to better understand God and his works.
2. Education strengthens liberty. Freedom can exist only in a society of educated men. Without learning, men do not know what rights they have.
3. Education helps people to make and obey just laws and to form good governments.
4. Education promotes good manners. In all countries, learning promotes civilization. It adds to the pleasures of conversation and of life in general.



5. Education promotes agriculture, which is the base of a nation's wealth and happiness.
6. The great development of manufacturing is due to education. The nations of Europe advance in manufacturing skill to the extent that they cultivate the arts and the sciences.

Benjamin Rush

Man Can Perfect Himself

We have hopes for the future of the human race if these three things occur:

- The destruction of inequality between different nations.
- The increase in equality in the same nation.
- The improvement in man himself.

Will not men be movable, as time goes by, to rule themselves by their own reason instead of emotions? Will they be able to keep that reason free of prejudice? Will they be able to understand and use their rights according to their conscience? By using their reason, will they not be able to provide for their own needs and wants?

Hopefully, then, foolishness and misery will be accidents. They will not be the general rule of life as they are now. Can we not expect that the human race will be improved by discoveries in science and the arts? Cannot our individual and general prosperity be increased by improvements in our moral, intellectual, and physical life?

Marquis de Condorcet



How Governments Started

If we want to understand political power, we must find out where it came from. What were men or students like in the beginning? They had perfect freedom in life. In some ways, life is like a large school playground. People can do as they like, so long as they don't break rules.

In the beginning, no one had more power than another. Creatures with the same physical advantages and the same mental powers were equals. None was superior or inferior to anyone. This state of nature was governed by a law of nature. That law was reason. Reason teaches all men who will listen that no one should harm another in any way. For all men are made by God. They are his property. When all men are kept from hurting one another, then mankind is preserved.

Anyone who is unreasonable breaks the law of nature. Everyone has a right to punish those who break that law. [Just as in a playground people have a *right* to punish those who break the rules.] But in a state of perfect equality no one has the *power* to judge or punish another. So the only person who can judge the lawbreaker is himself. But self-love makes men favor themselves and their friends. Also, ill-nature, passion, and revenge carry them too far in punishing others. This creates nothing but confusion and disorder. So there has to be a government to hold back the self-love and violence of men. [Just as there must be a referee to judge and penalize players in a game.]

John Locke



The Social Contract

This French philosopher says that governments arise out of a compact between people and their government. They willingly give up part of their individual freedom to the government so that their other freedoms can be protected. He calls this agreement the “social contract.”

The social contract arises from the necessity for cooperation among men. So each of us puts his body and power under the direction of the general will. The general will is reflected in the government. Whoever refuses to obey the general will can be made to obey by the whole body.

Man loses some of his natural liberty by this social contract. He cannot do exactly as he pleases. But man gains more important things by the contract. He gains liberty under the civil law. He also gets protection for himself and for his property.

Jean Jacques Rousseau

Man's Upward Progress

In a letter to a friend in 1799, Thomas Jefferson wrote about how man's mind and character could be improved.

I am among those who think well of human nature in general. I believe that man's mind can be improved to an unbelievable degree. To say that the human mind cannot be improved is cowardly. This is what the

despots [absolute rulers] of the earth try to make people believe. They say that in religion and politics there will be no new knowledge found. We will know no more than our fathers did. They tell us to look backward, not forward. We are not to find, they say, any improvement in science.

But, thank heaven, the American mind is already too advanced to accept that. While the art of printing exists, science cannot go backwards. Real knowledge, once gained, can never be lost. As long as we have freedom to think and speak, the condition of man will improve.

The generation that is now getting old did a great deal for mankind. It stopped despotism, which had ruled over the world for thousands of years.

Thomas Jefferson



Democracy—Best Government for America

Democracy might be dangerous in Europe. There the mass of people have suffered for so long. They are not used to thinking for themselves. They must always work for someone else. They have been kept poor and ignorant for years. But American farmers are different. They have confidence in themselves and their society. They can enjoy the fruits of their own labor. They are used to thinking for themselves. They are interested in law and order. Reason is their guide. So, for them, democracy is the only just form of government.

Thomas Jefferson

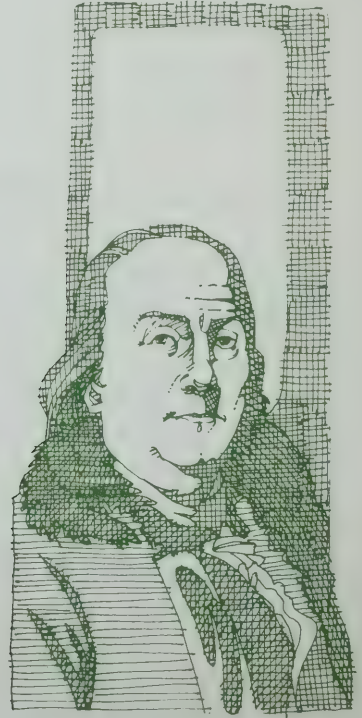
Farming— The Only True Wealth

There seem to be only three ways for a nation to get rich. The first is by war. The Romans built their empire years ago in this way. They simply took things from the people they conquered. This is robbery.

The second way is by commerce or trade. This, however, involves usually some kind of cheating.

The third way is by agriculture. This is the only honest way. A nation receives a real and permanent increase of wealth when the seed is sowed into the ground. This is a kind of continual miracle.

Benjamin Franklin



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Struggle to Build a Nation, 1776-1783



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Page 3: Moncure Daniel Conway, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, New York, 1894. **Page 5:** Charles Inglis, *The True Interest of America Impartially Stated in Certain Strictures on a Pamphlet Intituled Common Sense, by an American*, Philadelphia, 1776.

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Questions

1. What were some of the reasons, given by Thomas Paine, for breaking America's connection with England?
2. Why was British rule of America unjust, according to Paine?
3. What did loyalists believe would happen if America declared its independence from Great Britain?
4. What economic benefits did Charles Ingles believe America would have by keeping a connection with Great Britain?

The Struggle to Build a Nation, 1776–1783

Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*

Men had spoken and written about the possibility of independence before Paine wrote his Common Sense. He wrote it in 1775. Within weeks it became the best-read document in American history up to that time. In it Paine explains why the colonies should seek independence. Here are portions of it.

I have heard it said that America has flourished under her connection with Great Britain. It is said that the connection is necessary for future American success. Nothing could be further from the truth. We might as well say that because a child flourishes on milk, it should never have meat. It is the same as saying that we should live all our life like we live the first twenty years of our life. I think that America would have flourished even if no European power had noticed her. As long as Europe keeps the habit of eating, it will want American products.

Some people say England has protected us. Well, she would have defended even Turkey for the same



reason. She wanted to rule us and to have our trade. Great Britain has protected us not out of affection but out of her own interest.

Others say that Britain is our parent country. Then all the more shame upon her for her conduct toward us. Even brutes do not devour their young. Even savages do not make war upon their families. But Europe, not England, is the parent country of America. This new world is the home for persecuted lovers of liberty from every part of Europe. They fled here not from the tender embraces of a mother. They fled from the cruelty of a monster. English cruelty drove the first emigrants from home. That cruelty still pursues their descendants.

I challenge anyone to show a single advantage of being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge. Not a single advantage is gained. Our corn will bring a price in any market in Europe. Our imported goods must be paid for wherever we buy them. Europe is our market for trade. But we ought to form no favorite connection with any part of it. The true interest of America is to steer clear of European troubles.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be at peace long. Whenever war breaks out between England and a European power, the trade of America goes to ruin. This is because of America's connection with Britain. Everything that is right or natural begs for separation. The blood of the dead soldiers, the weeping voice of nature cries: *'Tis time to part.*

As to government matters, it is not possible for Britain to do us justice. A power so distant from us and so ignorant of us cannot govern us. We always have to run three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition. [He means they must go to the government in London.] We must wait four or five months for an



answer. Then it takes five or six more months to explain the answer. In a few years this will be looked upon as foolish and childish. There was a time when it was proper. There is now a proper time for it to stop.

Is there anyone in America who doesn't know that we cannot make laws on this continent unless the king agrees to them? Is there anyone so dumb that he does not realize that the king will not allow us to make a law here that does not suit his purpose? In fact, the king tells us: There shall be no laws but those I like.

O ye that love mankind! Ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant stand forth. The old world is overrun with oppression. Asia and Africa have chased out freedom. Europe regards freedom as a stranger. England hath given freedom her warning to depart. O receive the fugitive. Prepare here a home for all mankind.

The True Interest of America

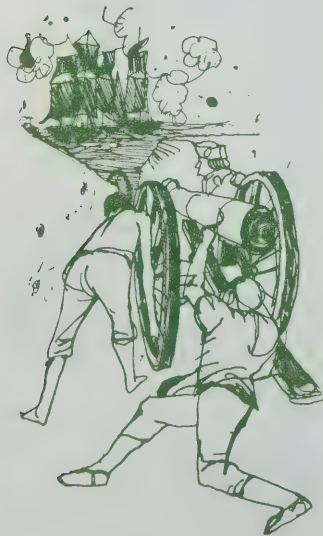
The following is part of an answer to Thomas Paine's Common Sense. It was written by Charles Ingles, who was a Loyalist. He wanted the colonies to stay within the British Empire. The Revolutionary War, however, had already started.

It is not difficult to point out many advantages to keeping our connection with Great Britain. I shall also point out some evils which will result if we become independent.

The benefits are:

- The war would stop. It is time to end the quarrels





that have made Britons shed the blood of Britons.

- Peace would return. Peace is like health. We do not know its value until it is gone.

- Agriculture, trade, and industry would prosper. At present, they are not healthy. They will not be until the war is over.

- By our connection with Britain, our trade would still have the protection of the world's greatest navy. Britain has defended our commerce and our coasts. We have no reason to doubt that she would do so again.

- It would cost us fifty times more to raise a naval force of our own to defend our coast. That is another reason to keep our trade protected by Britain.

- With England, we have a market for our exports. The manufactured goods we get from Britain are some of the best in the world. This is especially true in the goods we want most. We cannot get anywhere else linens and woolens that are so good and so cheap.

Let us now take a view from the other side of the question. Suppose we were to revolt from Great Britain and set up a republic of our own. What would be the results? My blood runs cold when I think of it.

- All our property throughout the country would be in greatest confusion. All those who did not swear loyalty to the new country would have their property taken away. Thousands of people would lose all they had in the world.

- A declaration of independence would disunite and divide the colonists. Many do not want to give up their loyalty to Britain. Hate would break out between the people of this country.

- A declaration of independence would mean that only the sword could decide the quarrel.

- Destruction and ruin would mark the progress of the war along the seacoast of America. Till now, Britain

has not yet used all her power. War in all its horror would follow a declaration of independence.

- Suppose we became independent. A republican form of government does not suit the people of America. The Americans are Britons. They have the manners, habits, and ideas of Britons. They are accustomed to a British form of government.

- America is too large for a republican form of government. A republican government may work well for a small country. Democracy is too feeble for a large country like America. It takes too long to get things done.

- America should keep its connection with Great Britain. I am sure she can get honorable terms from Great Britain after the war. She will grow rapidly after a few years of peace. She will become richer. She can pay back the mother country for past benefits. There may even come a time when something terrible will happen in Great Britain; there may be some great catastrophe. In that case, the government of the British Empire could be moved to the Western Hemisphere. There the British form of government and its constitution will shine with even greater glory.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Were Governed in the Early Republic Volume I



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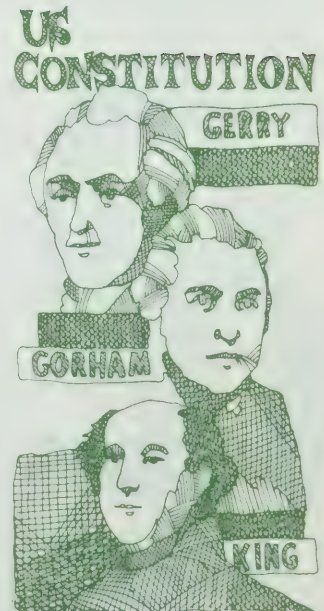
1. What were some of the different backgrounds or ways of life represented by the delegates who gathered to draft the U.S. Constitution?
2. How was it possible for people with different personalities, backgrounds, education, and income to work together to write a constitution for the United States?
3. Why didn't the North Carolina delegates like the Constitution after it was written?
4. Why did Mr. William Goudy (of North Carolina) argue against certain parts of the Constitution?

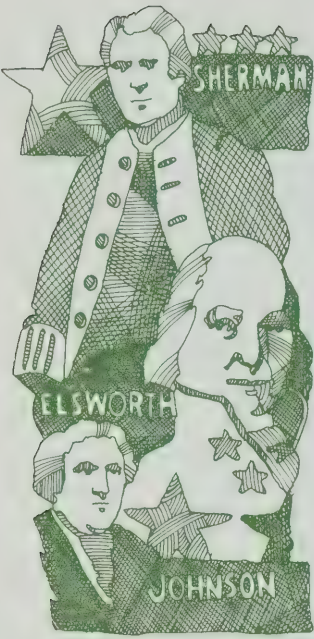
How People Were Governed in the Early Republic Volume I

Personality Sketches

Delegates from all over the country gathered in Philadelphia to draw up a constitution. They were some of the most interesting men in America. Delegate George William Pierce was from Georgia. He wrote down how some of the men looked and sounded to him. Here are some of his views of our Founding Fathers.

From Massachusetts: Rufus King, Nathaniel Gorham, and Elbridge Gerry and Caleb Strong, Esquires. *Mr. King* is widely known as a good speaker. He went to school in Massachusetts. He has a good knowledge of classical literature and of the law. He has served in the Congress for three years. People speak very highly of him. When he gives a speech, he can make people believe what he says. But sometimes he sounds a little rude. Still, he may be counted as one of our brightest men. *Mr. Gorham* is a merchant in Boston. He is well thought of throughout the country. He has good common sense. But he does not have much education.





He does not speak in a graceful way. All he hopes to do is make one believe what he says. By talking louder and louder, he hopes to sway people to his beliefs. *Mr. Gerry* is a very honest and stubborn man. He speaks slowly, but he is very sure of himself. He is also a great patriot. He loves his country.

From Connecticut: Sam Johnson, Roger Sherman, and Oliver Elsworth. *Dr. Johnson* is well known for his knowledge of the law. He is well educated and is a very wise man. *Mr. Sherman* is the strangest man I ever met. He behaves in an odd way. He speaks in a strange way, but no man has a warmer heart. He may not be able to talk very well. But still, he thinks clearly. He is a very good politician. Once he makes up his mind to do something, he gets it done. He seldom fails. In the early part of his life he was a shoemaker. Then he became an almanac maker. Finally he rose higher to become a judge. *Mr. Elsworth* is a judge of the Supreme Court of Connecticut. He is a very kind, wise, and understanding man. He speaks very well and is difficult to beat in an argument.

From New York: Alexander Hamilton. *Colonel Hamilton* is rightly known for his many talents. He is a lawyer and also a scholar. He has a good, clear mind and can make people change their beliefs. But his voice is rather weak. Colonel Hamilton needs time to think before he speaks. He studies every part of his subject. He does not skim over the surface of the subject. He learns all about it. Hamilton's speeches do not bore people. He is about 33 years old, small, and lean. His manners are a little stiff. He brags a bit and thinks highly of himself. This is highly unpleasant.

From Pennsylvania: Benjamin Franklin. *Dr. Franklin* is well known. He is the greatest philosopher of this age. Only history can tell how good a politician he is.



It is certain that he does not shine much in public meetings. He is no speaker. He doesn't even seem to be interested in politics. He is 82 years old with the quick mind of a 25-year-old.

From Virginia: George Washington and James Madison. *General Washington* is well known as the Commander-in-Chief of the American army. He has led the states to independence and peace. Now he is helping form a government that will please the people. He has many of the talents of the great men of history. He is the savior of his country. After gaining the highest honors in his country, he returned to his farm. He is quite happy to be a plain farmer. All he wants to do now is to be useful to his country and his countrymen. *Mr. Madison* has been in public life for a long time. Everyone agrees on his greatness. He has a character that one doesn't find often. He is a wise politician. But he is also a scholar. These two qualities do not often go together. He is an agreeable and clever speaker. He is always the most informed man in any debate. He knows more about the affairs of the United States than any other man in the Union. He has been twice a member of Congress. He is about 37 years old. He is a gentleman of great modesty. He also has a sweet temper. He is open and friendly with all who know him.



North Carolina Objects

When the Constitution was finally written, not everyone liked it. The delegates from North Carolina did not like it. Most of the people in North Carolina did not like it. The following is part of the argument

which went on between the North Carolina delegates and others in Philadelphia. After the preamble to the Constitution was read, this happened:

Mr. Joseph Taylor: Mr. Chairman, the wording of this Constitution puzzles me. It says "We the People." Now who does that mean? It seems to me that the delegates have taken on more power than they have the right to take. Do they mean we, the delegates of the people? Did the people give them the power to use their name? This power was in the people. They did not give it up to the members of the convention. So the men at the convention just acted as if they had the power. That is illegal. It is also dangerous.

Anyone who loves liberty must fight anyone who takes on power illegally. The fight must come as soon as possible. I see no reason why men at Philadelphia took on this power.

I am astonished that the servants of the North Carolina government should go to Philadelphia and speak of the *people*. They should have spoken about the *state*. I wish to stop this power as soon as possible. They may carry their assumed power to a more dangerous length. I wish to know where they found the power of saying "We the people." They seem to think "We the people" means a union of all states. Well, we don't want a government of all the states. This kind of government will not suit the character of the people. The country is too large. Even a man with a large property cannot manage it very easily. A unified country would be even harder to manage. We see plainly that men from New England are different from us. They do not know our problems. They do not know the conditions in our state. They cannot make good laws for us. They live too far away. Their customs and habits are different.



Mr. William Goudy [speaking of the clause in the Constitution which gives federal government the right to tax and to raise armies]: This clause will totally destroy our liberties. Is it proper to give any group of men unlimited power over our purse? We will have no control over them. The sword is also given up by this system. The federal government will have power to raise armies. Is there no danger in giving them both up? We are told there is no danger. That may be true. But I am jealous and suspicious of the liberties of mankind. Here we are dealing with the interest of millions still unborn. In this case, suspicion is a noble virtue. Let us look carefully at how much power we are giving away. For once it is given, we cannot get it back. It is said that those who formed this Constitution were great and good men. We do not dispute it. We also admit that great and good men have adopted it. But I have my own thoughts. When the power of the purse and the sword is given up, we dare not think for ourselves. That happens in wartime. Then this federal government can demand our last penny and our last man. Everyone knows that the Constitution tends to destroy state governments. Gentlemen try to hide this danger from us by clever words. But I hope no man will be led astray by those words.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Were Governed in the Early Republic Volume II



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Page 7: 6 Wheaton 264.

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Questions

1. Why did Abigail Adams write to President Thomas Jefferson about people appointed to government offices?
2. Which group of people did the Federalists believe should govern the country?
3. How did the views of the Anti-Federalists differ from those of the Federalists?
4. How did the court case of the *Cohens versus the State of Virginia* help establish that the federal law was supreme over state law?

How People Were Governed in the Early Republic Volume II

Problems of Presidential Appointments

By 1800, the country was being split into two political parties: The Federalists and the Anti-Federalists. The Anti-Federalist Thomas Jefferson was elected President in 1800. The Federalists and President Adams lost the election. The political campaign had been hard and unpleasant. The spirit of party politics cooled the friendship between the Adamses and Jefferson.

Jefferson wrote a letter to Abigail Adams complaining that her husband had done him an unkindness. He had appointed some men to jobs in the government who were bitter enemies of Jefferson.

Below is part of Mrs. Adams reply. It was the last letter between them for many years.

In your letter to me, you say there was only one thing that Mr. Adams had done to displease you. You say the last men he appointed was an unkindness to you. You say they were your greatest political enemies.

I am sure Mr. Adams did not intend to cause you pain. So it is my duty to explain what he did. The





Constitution gives the president the right to fill up some government offices as they become empty. That's why the appointments were made. Mr. Adams thought these men were loyal to the Constitution. He knew they would be able to fulfill their duty to their country. This was also done by General Washington in the last days of his administration. No office remained empty for the next president to fill when he came to office. No insult was meant. No personal unkindness was intended.

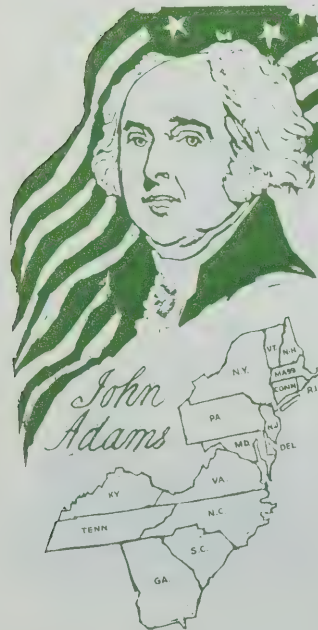
Political opinions are so divided in our country. It's sad that feelings run so high. That is what makes you think his act was against you. Please remember, sir, these appointments were made early. We did not know at that time that you would be the next president. This proves there was no unkindness meant.

I agree with you perfectly in one thing. The men around the president should be people he can trust. They should resign their offices if they don't agree with the president. They should not play tricks on him by going against what he wants to do for the country.

The two gentlemen Mr. Adams appointed as secretaries were not of this type. They were appointed nearly two years before you became president. They cooperated with him. They were loyal. They had the public's confidence. They did not agree with your politics. So people expected them to resign when you became president. They did resign.

I have never felt badly toward you for being elected president. But in the election campaign the blackest lies were told. I hated that. I did not mind losing the election. I have seen enough of the worry, envy, and jealousy which goes with the job. I also know the heavy responsibilities that go with it.

I am sure that you know now that people should not envy a president. A president is not a free man. If you



can do as you wish, then I will be surprised. No president before you ever felt a free man in the office.

This letter is written in confidence. I have often hoped you would act differently politically. I bear no hate. I have no feelings of anger toward you. Even if I did, I would forgive you, as I hope to be forgiven.

One Unpleasant View of How We Were Governed

When Jefferson was elected president, many people feared a bloody revolution would take place, just as it had in France. Jefferson felt that democracy meant the rule of “the many” rather than “the few.” Jefferson’s political enemies were mainly Federalists. They felt that the best society was ruled by “the few.” Only the few, they said, had education, experience, wealth, and time to study. These were the men who should govern, because they were the wisest. One Federalist was Fisher Ames. He thought that Jefferson’s brand of democracy would destroy the nation. Democracy, to him, was mob rule. We are able to see how wrong he was about our nation. But many people then agreed with him. Below is part of an article he wrote in 1805.



Aren't most of our people now busy trying to make money and have fun? We may be grouped into a society, but it's every man for himself. I have not found yet any character to the nation. It seems to me that we hate other parties more than we love our country.

It is said that in republics the majority always oppresses the minorities. How can there be any

patriotism to a state organized this way? Especially when people say they know what the majority wants, but really do not. The wicked, the ignorant, and the poor oppress the wise and the respectable.

A democracy cannot last. It will turn into a dictatorship. A military government may make a nation great. But it will not make men free. There will be bloody struggles to see who holds government power. Governments always gain power by claiming that some group is trying to destroy the nation. Some people say that it is the Federalists who want to do this. How foolish. Most of the Federalists are owners of the wealth of the nation. Would they plot a revolution that might make them beggars?

In every revolution, property changes hands. This might be attractive to those who have nothing to lose but their lives. But to think Federalists would do this is silly. They are independent farmers and rich merchants. They are well-to-do mechanics, as well as churchmen. Why would they revolt? That is like saying shippers would block their own harbors. Would bankers blow up their own money vaults?

People are blind if they do not see that we are going down from a solid republic into a wicked democracy. There doesn't seem any way to fight against it. The institutions and hopes that Washington had are now dead. If some people had any power over history, his name [George Washington] would never be remembered.

A democracy is a government led by the desires of the masses. It is also led by the vices and ambitions of their leaders. Everybody knows that "the few" can make themselves master over "the many." But the uncontrolled "many" can also make themselves master of the "few." There are people who really cannot see anything evil about this. But there is.

The people don't deliberately set out to master the few. They don't have time to think for themselves. They don't have all the facts. So they can be excited by clever speakers. They can be told lies and half-truths. They can be led to believe the lies. Leaders of the masses will be men who want only power. What is called government by the people is often just government by wicked and ambitious men.

Cohens versus Virginia: 1821

Below is a famous case that decided the question of whether federal law is supreme over state law. Chief Justice John Marshall was a strong nationalist. He helped decide several important cases involving state and federal powers. He often ruled in favor of the federal government. One of Marshall's decisions was in the case of Cohens versus Virginia. In a court case the person who complains about something is called the plaintiff. The person or party who defends an action they have committed is called the defendant. Both plaintiff and defendant are represented by lawyers in the courtroom.

In the *Cohens versus Virginia* case, two men named Cohen were convicted of selling lottery tickets by a Virginia court. Selling lottery tickets was against the law in Virginia. But the federal law permitted the sale of national lottery tickets. The highest court of Virginia, however, said that the Cohens were guilty even if the lottery was held under a law passed by Congress. The Cohens then brought their case to the U. S. Supreme Court.



Defendant's Case

The lawyer for the State of Virginia said that the Supreme Court did not have the right to decide the case. The decision of the Virginia Court was final, he said. The Constitution of the United States did not give the Supreme Court power to judge a case involving a state and one of its citizens.

Plaintiffs' Case

The Cohens' lawyer talked about Article 3 of the Constitution. He said it gave the Supreme Court the right to judge all cases under the Constitution and laws of the United States. The lottery, he said, involved a United States or Federal law. Therefore, he said, the Supreme Court did have the power to decide the case.

The Court's Decision

Chief Justice Marshall agreed with the Cohens. The Supreme Court, he said, did have the right to decide the case. It could overrule or change the decisions state the State court. Otherwise, said Marshall, state courts could take away the rights of citizens. State courts could give different meanings to the Constitution. So no one would know for sure exactly what the laws were in different parts of the country. State courts could really deprive the national government of its powers if the Supreme Court was not indeed supreme.

The power of the national laws over state laws was established. But, said Marshall, Congress did not mean to allow lottery tickets to be sold in states where the sale went against state law. Therefore, he ruled against the Cohens.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Made Their Living in the Early Republic Volume I



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Questions

1. Why were rivers so important in the early days of our country?
2. How did plantation owners make use of a river?
3. What kinds of people depended on river transportation to earn their living?
4. In 1824, why was it necessary for the U.S. Supreme Court to rule on who should be allowed to operate steamboats on the Hudson River?

How People Made Their Living in the Early Republic Volume I

Plantation Life at Nomini Hall

The following is from part of a letter written in 1774 by Philip Fithian. He was a tutor for the children of a rich Virginia family named Carter.

I shall now attempt to give a description of Nomini Hall. It is one of the most magnificent houses and estates I have ever seen.

Mr. Carter owns 60,000 acres of land and about six hundred Negroes. His lands are divided and lie in almost every county in this colony. He has a house in Williamsburg. He owns a great part of the well-known iron works near Baltimore in Maryland.

Mr. Carter has chosen, however, to live in a large, elegant house called Nomini Hall. It is built on a high spot of ground on the banks of the Nomini River. The main house is built of bricks covered with strong lime mortar. The house is perfectly white. The house is two stories high. Each story has four rooms. On the first floor is the dining room where we usually sit. Next is a dining room for the children. Mr. Carter's study is next. The fourth room is a ballroom 30 feet long. On



the second floor is Mr. and Mrs. Carter's room. There is another for the young ladies. Two other rooms are for guests.

At equal distance from each corner of the house are four smaller houses. These four houses mark the corners of a square. The great house is in the center. These other houses are the stable, the washhouse, the coach house, and the school. There is also a kitchen, a bake house, a dairy, and a storehouse.

The schoolhouse has five well-furnished rooms. In each room, there is a fire. Five of us live in this house with great comfort. Each one has a bed to himself. We are called by a bell to the great house for breakfast and other meals.

The Nomini River is nearby. One of its branches runs about one-quarter of a mile from Nomini Hall. Mr. Carter's merchant mill is on the branch of the river. There is a dock nearby. Here Mr. Carter lands the wheat for his mill. He lands iron from the iron works, and so on.



Voyage down the Ohio

This is an account of a trip down the Ohio River in 1808. It was written by a man named Henry Brackenridge, who was a judge in Florida. The trip begins at Pittsburgh on the Monongahela River. This river flows into the Ohio.

The river was in fine order for sailing. The sky was a clear blue. Winter was over. But the forests still appeared naked and without leaves. As we glided

along, I tried to see something that I recognized from my first trip on this river. I saw nothing that I could remember. Instead of the endless forests, now there were farm fields and cottages. Peace, civilization, and the sound of humans could now be heard. When I was first here, there was only the nightly howling of wolves. There was only a fear of Indian attacks from out of the wilderness.

Finally we reached Marietta, a pretty town and one of the most important on the Ohio. It was a handsome town when I saw it. Now, however, it is much improved. It has many more buildings. A few miles below this we came to the island of Blennerhasset. It has been said that Mr. Blennerhasset had every kind of sense but common sense. On the island was his beautiful mansion. It was set in the midst of a large park. It was very expensive and fancy-looking. He had been raised in England where things were different. He and his family lived in a style not suited to this part of the country. They had democratic opinions, but they acted like aristocrats. After several years, the family left. They were disappointed in the lack of taste and polish in local society.

There were poplars and weeping willows. It looked more like a vision of the future than a real landscape in the infant West. The estate looks out of place. It is too far in advance of the state of society. Finally we came to Cincinnati. Thirteen years ago, there was just forest and a simple little camp. Now there is a beautiful little city in the midst of beautiful farmland. I went to the market. Food was just as good as that in Philadelphia but much cheaper. A turkey costs only 16 cents. If people say that is too expensive, a goose is thrown in free. The fast growth of Cincinnati has been almost magical.



Louisville has also become a handsome town. The curtain of wilderness has been pushed back this far. But beyond Louisville, the wilderness begins again. A few days after leaving Louisville, something happened that is hard to believe. At one part of the river, we could see for 10 miles downstream. Just at daybreak, the whole heavens all the way to the horizon were covered with birds. It was a flight of wild pigeons. They covered the entire sky. Flocks passed over us all day long. There must have been millions of them.



The captain stopped at the mouth of the Wabash. He was to meet a boat there to take goods to Vincennes. This is an old French town up the Wabash. We had to wait for it for three or four days. But such nights and days I hope never to see again. The mosquitoes fell upon us like a shower of burning coals.



It was a joyful moment when we left the Wabash River. Again we were afloat on the broad, majestic Ohio. The banks were lined with unbroken forests. The trees were on perfectly level ground. The trees were so even that their tops were just like a clipped hedge. But such a hedge as might exist in the country of giants.

Our captain now told us that when he reached New Madrid, he intended to settle there. He said he would open up a store. Then he declared that he would fix our meals. But he gave us nothing but Indian-meal cakes fried with a little fat bacon. Of course, he wanted to keep most of the food to sell at his store. When my friend and I grumbled, he showed us his teeth and his pistols.

The rest of the voyage was uncomfortable and very long. The meanness and trickery of that captain! We didn't even speak to him anymore. When we reached New Madrid, we instantly leaped on shore.

Gibbons versus Ogden: 1824

Below is a famous case that decided the question of who regulates commerce between states—the national government or each state government. In a court case the person who complains about something is called the plaintiff. The person or party who defends an action they have done is called the defendant. Both sides are represented by lawyers.

Robert Fulton was an inventor of the steamboat. The state of New York passed a law giving him and his business partner, Robert Livingston, a license to operate steamboats along the Hudson River and between New York and New Jersey. They were the only ones who had such a license.

In time these two men gave their license to a Mr. Ogden. Mr. Ogden was then the only person who had a license to operate steamboats. But a former partner of his was a Mr. Gibbons. This man kept running his boats between New York and New Jersey. He did this even though he did not have a license. So Mr. Ogden went to court to keep Gibbons from operating his boats.

Plaintiff's Case

Ogden complained that only he had a license from the state of New York to operate steamboats. He said Gibbons was operating against the law. He said the law was valid because, according to the Constitution, states as well as the national government could pass laws about interstate commerce.



Defendant's Case

Gibbons's lawyer pointed out Article 1, Section 8 of the Constitution. He argued that it gives only Congress the power to pass laws about commerce. He also said that the Act of 1793 passed by Congress set up licenses for ships involved in coastal trade. He added that Gibbons had a license under that act.

The Court's Decision

Chief Justice Marshall said that according to the Act of 1793, Mr. Gibbons did have the right to operate steamships in coastal trade. He also said that a state could pass laws about commerce or trade that takes place within its borders. But, he said, the Constitution does not permit states to pass laws which conflict with laws of Congress concerning commerce between states. Congress, says the Constitution, has the power to regulate commerce "with foreign nations, among the several states and with the Indian tribes." Therefore, since the New York law was in conflict with the national law, it was illegal. He ruled in favor of Mr. Gibbons.

Another Justice of the Court went further. He said that he would have ruled in favor of Mr. Gibbons even if there had been no Act of 1793. He said the Constitution gave all control over any kind of commerce to the national government. He said the states could not pass any laws concerning commerce.

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Questions

1. What was the criminal offense for which the boot-and shoemakers were brought to trial in 1806? Would they have been brought to trial today?
2. Why was the peddler an important visitor in early settlements of the frontier?
3. How did settlers in the frontier state of Indiana get their food?
4. How does a contract protect people?

How People Made Their Living in the Early Republic Volume II

The Trial of the Boot- and Shoe-Makers

Shortly after 1800, men in various trades began to organize unions to improve their working conditions. They would refuse to work. They would also try to keep others from working until their demands were met. According to English common law at that time, this was a criminal offense. No one was allowed to keep others from working. So the boot- and shoe-makers of Philadelphia were arrested. They were brought to trial in 1806. They were found guilty of plotting to keep other men from working. This was called criminal conspiracy. This remained the law until 1842. The Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled against the idea of criminal conspiracy.

Below is part of the trial. The prosecution, the person who brought the trial against the boot- and shoe-makers, is speaking to the jury.

No men can plot or conspire with others to make rules for the whole group of workingmen in the city.





These men are not on trial because they made rules for their own labor. It is because they tried to make rules for the price of others' labor as well as their own.

You must know that all people are affected by these private agreements. They are harmful to the public good. They are against public interest. The law therefore forbids this kind of conspiracy. An individual may do something that is quite lawful. But the same act may be criminal if a group of men combine to carry the act out. The law does not permit men to secretly plan to do anything against the welfare of the people. Such an act of conspiracy is against the laws of this country. That is the charge we bring against these boot- and shoe-makers.

The court recorder (giving last-minute instructions to the jury to be sure they understand the problem):

What is now the case before us? A group of men get together to raise their wages. Think of this in two ways: One is to benefit themselves. The other is to injure those who do not join their group. The law says both are illegal.

The jury retired about nine o'clock. Next morning the foreman of the jury handed an officer of the court a piece of paper. It was signed by the twelve men on the jury. It said: "We find the defendants guilty of uniting to raise their wages."

The court fined each defendant \$8 plus the cost of the trial. They had to stay in jail until they paid it.

Making a Living in Indiana

One of the most important people in frontier life was the peddler. He traveled all over the country. He

brought tinware, laces, ribbons, linens, and even Dutch ovens. He was a traveling store for men and women of the frontier. At a dance or social gathering at the inn of some settlement, people learned of the peddler's coming. Below is a story by a woman who remembers when the peddler arrived in Green County, Indiana.

Everyone waited for Mr. Ludlow's arrival. If it weren't for him, people would not have many of the things they now enjoy. His route is from Chicago to Madison. He goes by way of Rockford, Belvidere, and Monroe. There are only blazed trees and Indian trails to mark the way, but he makes the trip every month.

In the summer, he crosses the rivers in ferryboats. In the spring and fall, the ice on the rivers is dangerous. First he walks across it alone. If it seems thick enough, he takes his wagon over the ice. Customers are always watching for him. They run to meet him. "Did you bring my tobacco?" they ask. "Did you remember to bring the calico cloth for my dress?" He always seems to remember every order.

He stops a day or two at the local inn. He puts his money in a leather mitten. Then he gives it to the landlady at the inn. She usually hides it under a plank in the floor. But the people are very honest. The peddler's goods are scattered all over the inn. People go there to see them and buy. But he has never lost a single item. He doesn't even lock his wagon.



Many of the people on the frontier were farmers. They earned their living from the land. One of their greatest jobs was hunting. When they first came to the frontier, they had to wait a few months for their first crops to ripen. During that time, they had to hunt for food. Also, from the animals, they got their clothes and hides for blankets.

Here is an account of how these early settlers of Indiana earned their living.

The first settlers to Indiana had to live on wild game. They had to eat until their first crops were ripe. So for months they had to eat bear, deer, buffalo, wild turkeys, and geese. When their crop was ready, they also had corn.

There were so many wild pigeons that they darkened the sun when they flew overhead. A man could stand in his doorway and shoot deer easily. One man at Collier's Lick [a salt lick] in Brown County shot thirteen in one morning.

Fire-hunting was a good way to kill deer. The hunter would float down the stream in a canoe. He carried a flaming torch. Deer came down to the water's edge to drink. The torch would "shine his eyes." That is, the deer would just gaze at the light. As he stood there, it was easy for the boatman to shoot him.

Indians taught the white man how to jerk venison. The meat was cut into slices. Then it was dried or cured in the sun. It could also be smoked. A hunk of venison hung from the rafters of almost every cabin. It was the custom for visitors to cut off a piece. Then they chewed it as they talked.

In addition to hunting animals, the pioneer also hunted bees. There were two ways to find the trees where bees stored honey. The hunter would catch a bee and sprinkle white flour on it. Then he could easily follow it when it flew back to its tree. Or the man might make a sweet bait. He would leave the bait on a tree stump. When the bee gathered its load of sweet, it always flew back to its tree. It always went straight there. People began saying it made a beeline for its home. That means it went there the quickest way.



The bee hunter then marked the tree. All summer, the bees carried sweets to the tree. Inside, they made honey. In September, the tree was cut down and the shining honey was gathered up. Several gallons of honey might be found in one tree. This was enough to keep the settler supplied for a year.

Trustees of Dartmouth College versus Woodward: 1819

Below is a report on a famous court case that established the safety of contracts in the United States. In a court case, the person who complains about something is called the plaintiff. The person or party who defends an action they have committed is called the defendant. Both sides are represented by lawyers.

In 1769 Reverend Eleazar Wheelock received a charter from King George III of England. The charter allowed Reverend Wheelock to run an Indian school in the colony of New Hampshire. Reverend Wheelock used his own money to improve the school. He also received money from several wealthy Englishmen including Lord Dartmouth. These men became the trustees or directors of the school. The school grew and later became known as Dartmouth College. It was still directed by the Trustees.

In 1816 the New Hampshire state legislature passed a law which took over the control of Dartmouth College. The law increased the number of trustees from 12 to 21. It also appointed a group of 25 “overseers,” one of which was the governor. The overseers had power over the trustees.

The original 12 trustees did not want to give up control of the college to the state of New Hampshire.



So, they sued the state. Daniel Webster took their case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Plaintiffs' Case

Webster told the court that the charter between King George III and Reverend Wheelock and the trustees was a *contract*. A contract is an agreement or promise. It can be written or spoken. It is between two or more people. The contract forces people to keep their promise. Webster said the contract created rights which the state could not take away.

Webster pointed out Article 1, Section 10 of the Constitution. It says the state cannot pass laws which take away the rights of contract.

Defendant's Case

The lawyer for the state of New Hampshire argued that the state law was passed to control education. Education, like health and the police force, is the responsibility of the state, said the lawyer. Therefore, he argued, the state of New Hampshire had the right to pass a law about education—even if this took away the rights of the trustees of Dartmouth College.

The Court's Decision

Chief Justice Marshall said that the charter from the king was a contract. It gave the trustees rights which the U. S. Constitution protected. The contract made the college a private corporation. It had private rights though it was an educational institution.

Marshall declared that the rights of contract could not be taken away without breaking the law of the Constitution. Therefore, he ruled in favor of the trustees and against the state.

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Questions

1. What kinds of social activities took place in the American cities of the late 1700s and early 1800s? What kinds of occupations or jobs did people have?
2. How did country living differ from city living?
3. Why did American cities often seem similar to European cities?
4. In what ways did Indian life seem better than the white man's way of life?

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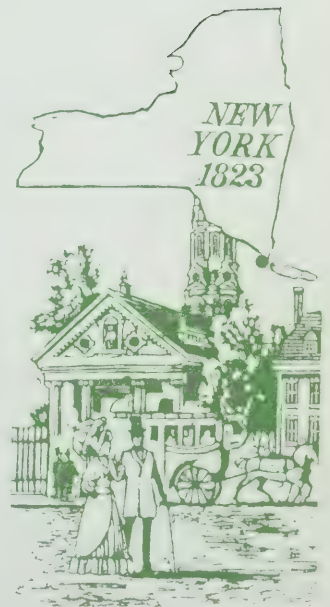
City Life

The following are portions of descriptions of American cities in the period 1750–1850 by John Fanning Watson and Jean Pierre Brissot de Warville.

New York (1823)

To me, New York is like a perfect London. It is more pleasant to visit than to live there. The stir and bustle, the constant displays and ads attract and catch the eye. The city tries to imitate London and other foreign cities. It does not try to show our own republican manners and principles. But in trying to be like London, it catches some of London's disadvantages. I do not want to see these disadvantages in Philadelphia.

I am very willing that our city shall be the peaceful city of Pennsylvania. Why do we want our cities to be foreign? Why do we want the cities, and even the country, so full of foreigners? Isn't there a point when



PHILADELPHIA
1843



all this begins to make us uncomfortable and life less pleasant? I fear so.

Philadelphia (1843)

Our city is full of French people. They come from France and from the French colonies. It gives Philadelphia the look of one great hotel. The old simple life of the citizens begins to change. Manners, habits of dress, and ways of thinking and speaking are changing.

There are French boardinghouses on almost every street. Groups of men and women can be seen sitting in a semicircle just outside their doors. Their tongues, shoulders, and hands are always in motion when they talk. They are all talkers and few hearers. French gentlemen play music on horns and violins all day and night. They hope in this way to catch the attention of some girl at nearby windows.

No town on the American continent has as much printing done as in Philadelphia. Mr. Carey, an Irish printer, has a great printing industry and a lot of information. He publishes a monthly paper called the *American Museum*. It is equal to the best paper published in Europe. It has in it everything important that America produces. One part concerns agriculture. Other parts deal with the arts, science, and politics.

Ships from all over the world are at anchor in the Delaware River. On either side, factories are rising. They are also being built in the countryside. Everywhere, industry and business activity is increasing rapidly.

Boston (1800)

How I loved to wander up and down that long street. It had simple wooden houses all along the

magnificent Boston Channel. The stores were full of European goods. How I enjoyed the activity of the merchants, the craftsmen, and the sailors. They did not act like the noisy Frenchmen of Paris. They had a simple, dignified manner. They were conscious of liberty and saw all men as their brothers and their equals.

It is noted that in countries chiefly interested in commerce or business, there is not much science. This is true of Boston. Business occupies most of the people of Boston. Business gets all their attention and absorbs all their time. So you find there are few good books and few authors. Poets, of course, are even more rare than authors. But there are many gazettes [newspapers]. This proves the activity of commerce. Business people are always interested in politics and in the news. You can gather, then, that the arts are not given much encouragement here.



The Journal of Madam Knight

In the early part of the 1700s, Sarah Kemble Knight took a trip from Boston to New York. She describes below the way people lived in that part of the colonies. She also describes the difficulties of long journeys by ladies on horseback with only a hired guide for a companion.

I began my trip around three o'clock in the afternoon with my guide, John. When we had ridden about an hour, we came to a thick swamp. It upset me because there was a thick fog. It was also getting dark. But nothing upset John. He had seen a thousand such

swamps. He helped me through it. About an hour later, we came to Billings, where I was to spend the night. I had just entered the door when I met the daughter of the man who owned the inn. She said: "Good heavens. What in the world brings you here at this time of night? I have never seen a woman on the road so dreadful late in all the days of my life. Who are you? Where are you going?" Then she turned to the guide: "Where are you going with this woman? Who is she?"

The lady was completely surprised to see a woman traveling alone with a hired guide.

I told her she was quite rude to ask all those questions. Finally she led me to a parlor in a little shack in the back. It was almost filled with the bed. It was so high, I was forced to climb on a chair to get up to the wretched bed. I laid my tired limbs on the bed.

In the morning, the woman brought me something to eat. It was like a twisted cable, but very white. Then she put it on a board and began to pull at it. When it began to spread, she served with it a dish of pork and cabbage. Over it, she poured a purple sauce. She also gave me some Indian bread [cornbread]. I was hungry but still had trouble eating this.

Next day, I went to a merchant's house [store]. In comes a tall country fellow. His mouth was full of tobacco. These people keep chewing and spitting as long as their eyes are open. The fellow went into the middle of the room. He nodded and spit quite a lot. These people generally stand around saying nothing when they first come into a store. I think they stand in awe of the merchant.

Finally we reached New York. It is a pleasant, well-situated city. It has a wide river and a fine harbor for shipping. The buildings are usually of brick. They are very high and stately. The bricks are not like those



in Boston. They are of different colors. Some are glazed, which makes them look very nice.

The insides of the houses are very neat. Only the walls are plastered. The floorboards and the beams are kept very white. The fireplaces have no mantels as ours do in Boston. The hearth is of tiles, and they are about 5 feet into the room.

The pastime in winter is to go sleigh-riding. People ride 3 or 4 miles out of town to houses of entertainment at a place called the Bowery. I went with friends to one Madame Dowes, a gentlewoman that lived in a farmhouse. She gave us a handsome entertainment of five or six dishes. She gave us choice beer, cider, and so on. All of it, she said, was the produce of her farm. I believe we met fifty or sixty sleds that day. They fly with great swiftness. They will stop, however, and talk with people. They are very sociable. They are also very hospitable.

Indian Life in Florida

The following is from the journal of William Bartram. He traveled in Florida during the early 1800s. Here he gives his views on Indians and their ways.

On my return to the trading post on the St. Johns River [southwest of present-day Jacksonville], the trading schooner was there. But since she wasn't to sail for Georgia until fall, I had time to continue traveling. I had time to collect seeds and roots and to study Indian life.



The Muscogulges or Upper Creek Indians are more civilized than Indians in general. They are located near their strong enemy, the Choctaws. Their country is huge and open to invasion from all sides. Because of this, the Upper Creeks find it safer to live in towns. These towns are as close together as possible. In this way, the Muscogulges can defend one another in case of attack by the Choctaws.

The Muscogulges have a very dignified manner. This shows up particularly in the older people. The others have a calm and cheerful way of behavior. They appear natural. Virtue and goodness seem to be a natural instinct with them. We white people often have to be forced into being good and virtuous.

The Seminole Indians are only a few in number. All of them, I suppose, would not be enough to fill one Muscogulge town. Yet this handful of people have a huge land. They have all of east Florida and most of west Florida. Their land is cut and divided into thousands of rivers, lakes, swamps, plains, and ponds. These form many hiding places. In this way, the land protects the Seminole from any sudden attack. It is such a varied land that there are many different kinds of animals there. I dare say that nowhere in the world are there so many wild game and other creatures fit for the food of man.

These Indians seem to be free from want or desires. They have no cruel enemy to fear. Nothing worries them except the gradual moving in of the white people.

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Questions

1. What kinds of books did Americans read in the 1800s?
2. Why was it important for Americans to have their own national language?
3. What did William Preston mean by the sentence: "... when people go into the wilderness, the old state of society cannot be taken along."?
4. What qualities did a person need in order to live in the wilderness and on the prairies?

How People Lived in the Early Republic Volume II

What People in the United States Read and Write

Alexis de Tocqueville was a Frenchman who traveled through the United States in 1831. He was one of the first men to write about how democracy was working in America. How well was it doing? How did the people like it? He wrote his findings in a book called Democracy in America. It is still one of the finest studies of our country. Part of it follows:

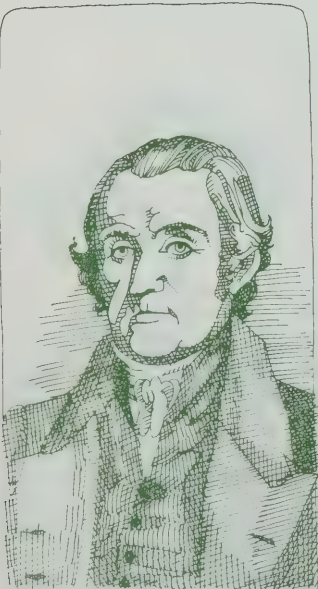
People in America perhaps read less than in any other civilized country. Still, there are quite a few people who like to read in leisure hours. England supplies them with most of their books. The important English books are also published in the United States. Even the pioneers' huts often have a book or two of Shakespeare.



The Americans read English books. Also, Americans produce English literature. The few men in the United States who write books copy English style and form. They bring, in this way, English aristocratic ideas into a democracy. American writers do not write about their own country. The works would not be popular. It seems that people want to read about English things. Americans are very unsure about what is good literature. They will not praise an American author until his works have been praised in England. Then they will praise him, too. So the people of the United States just do not have a literature at all.

The only really American writers I know are newspaper reporters. They are not great writers. But they speak the language of their countrymen. They make themselves heard by their countrymen.

The Need for a National Language



After the United States became independent, many people thought that our speech should also become more independent. That is, we should speak more like Americans, not like Englishmen. One man who believed this was Noah Webster. He is the father of the famous American Dictionary of the English Language. Below is part of an article he wrote in favor of developing an American speech.

A national language gives people a feeling of union. It helps them become proud of their nation. We may boast of our independence. We talk about our freedom of government. But our opinions and ideas are not

independent. People here have a great respect for the art and literature of their parent country, England. Americans blindly follow the manners of England. This blindness keeps them from seeing their own talents and respecting them.

America is ripe for a change. The minds of men here are awake. We are living a new life here. There are new scenes, new experiences, new problems. Life here demands all our wisdom and talent. Let us then seize the time. Let us establish a national language. When we speak in an American way, we will act in a more American way. If we do not respect ourselves, no other nation will respect us either.

Philadelphians Are Not Like New Yorkers

Washington Irving was the author of "Rip Van Winkle" and the "Legend of Sleepy Hollow." He was also the first American writer to become famous in other countries as well as his own. In one of his works, a man named Likcum wrote in an amusing way about the people of Philadelphia. He said they were fine people because their streets were wide, clean, and straight. He also said that the poor New Yorkers suffered because of their terrible streets. Part of Likcum's views are given below.

I am clearly of the opinion that the streets of Philadelphia affect the people there. The streets affect the way they act and look. You will notice how honest and good-looking they are. They are well-meaning, straightforward, clear-headed, upright people. They go

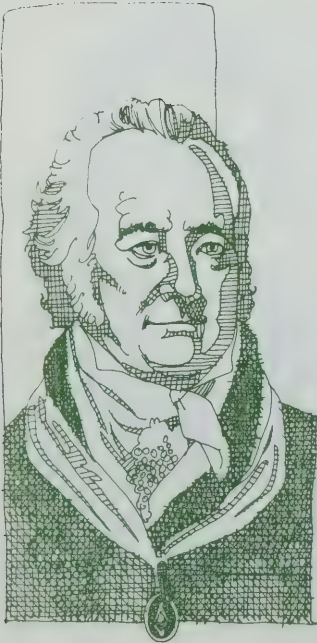


to work on time. They never put the cart before the horse. They talk like a book. They think quick as a machine. They walk straight, not crooked.

But the people of New York—God help them. Their town has hills and dales, lanes and alleys, and crooked streets. The streets are always going up or down. They turn and twist. Look at the people. They are queer, odd, crazy-headed, topsy-turvy quicksilver. They are the most whim-whamsical bunch of humans ever thrown together. They are the opposite of the good Philadelphians.

Trip Through the Midwest

The following is part of a book written by William Preston. He describes a trip he took in the early 1800s from Virginia to St. Louis.



My father always wanted me to go to school in Europe. But before I went, he thought I should see something of my own country. So he sent me on a journey through Tennessee, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and Missouri. A servant and I went on two horses. We rode for 4,000 miles. It was a lonely ride. We went through forests and prairies. I had time to think and wonder. The trip hardened my body. It also got me used to thinking for myself.

In Kentucky, I met all the main families. Most of them were kin to my own family. Parts of Kentucky are beautiful. The land is rich, and the trees are as tall as churches.

Most of the people are from Virginia. But they have lost some of their Virginia dignity. They are a little

more noisy. They may brag a bit more, also. They are not very polite. I found this unpleasant. But when people go into a wilderness, the old state of society cannot be taken along. New land calls for different manners. Gentle and refined qualities are not noticed. Stronger qualities are needed

In Indiana and Illinois, society hasn't been organized yet. Each little colony is surrounded by a field and a vegetable patch. The tired lady of the house can quickly produce a cake and fry chicken for the visitor. She can also serve him deer steak and good conversation. There is always a good pot of coffee on the stove. It is often sweetened with maple sugar or wild honey. To me, this ruins the coffee.

In the meantime, the good man of the house might be 20 miles away. He might be getting meal from a mill. But usually he is hunting in the woods. He will come home with a deer, a prairie hen, or wild turkeys. He will not often come home empty-handed.

At bedtime, the man and his wife sleep in a kind of folding bed in the corner. The guests sleep on the floor.

I traveled more comfortably than most people. I had a packhorse with bread, clothes, and buffalo robes. After a day's ride of 50 or 60 miles, the robes were comfortable to sleep on.

One day, I rode 72 miles across the prairie between daylight and sundown. That night, I slept out in the open. After I made camp, I stepped over a fallen tree. At the sound, a deer about 15 feet away turned to look at me. He did not seem scared. I think he had never seen a man before. I clapped my hands, and he jumped away. But that little sound in all that silence made me feel very lonely.

When we got to St. Louis, it was crowded. It is just overflowing with immigrants. One small inn was so full that people had to sleep in the hayloft. Many had to



sleep out on the prairie. One man told me: "I can give you a corner in the room of my printing press. You can stay there until you find something better."

I was taken from there next day by Governor Clark (of the Lewis and Clark expedition), an old friend of my family. In Governor Clark's house, things were quite different. There was every comfort and richness. He is a most kind and wise man. His job is to guard and administer land all the way to the Rocky Mountains. While I was with him, I saw Indian chiefs every day. They came on business. I also went to an Indian council. A peace treaty was made there with the Mandoes, Miamis, Osages, Sacs, and Fox Indians.

They call Governor Clark the White Chief. This is because he has very white skin, long gray hair, and light blue eyes.

Social Science Satellite Kit

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Behaved in the Early Republic Volume I



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Questions

1. What skills did early American farm wives develop?
2. Why was Benjamin Franklin so highly respected by farmers?
3. What kind of social gatherings did farm people enjoy?
4. Why did people gather for the special celebration as described by the Pennsylvania farmer in his letter?

How People Behaved in the Early Republic Volume I

Life in the Country

A Pennsylvania farmer from France, Michel Guillaume Jean de Crèvecoeur, wrote many letters to his friend in England. In them he described the way American farmers lived. Here is part of one of his letters.

American housewives must know many things which require knowledge and skill. For example, in the art of dyeing, you should see the beautiful things they can make. They make brightly colored gowns, skirts, and petticoats. They produce the color from the roots and barks of our woods. Indigo and alum are also used. I have often wished to find out how the Indians make their bright red and yellow dyes. You remember the colors on the moccasins I gave you?

It is in the art of simple cooking that our wives all try to distinguish themselves. One wife is famous for one kind of food. Another wife is famous for another kind. A woman must be able to have fresh



honeycomb, sweetmeats [candies], and smoked beef at tea or she would not be a very good housewife. These light meals, such as tea, become as expensive as any. We eat early and work until teatime [four or five in the afternoon]. So the food at tea often includes lots of biscuits and shortcakes. Some people think it is a disgrace to have just plain bread on the tea table.

When we smoke our beef, it becomes so compact that we often shave it with a plane. The thin, transparent peelings, curled up on a dish, look neat, elegant, and very tempting.

So the idea of going to tea is agreeable for several reasons. There is a nice ride of 5 or 6 miles. One hears the news of the country. One also gets to eat heartily. Our womenfolk have to work hard all year. What husband would refuse his wife the pleasure of inviting her friends to tea!

Would you believe that a discovery of Mr. [Benjamin] Franklin helped save our barns and our houses from the fire of heaven [lightning]? His discovery is an electrical one. This discovery even taught our wives to multiply their chickens. The invisible effects of thunder are powerfully felt in the egg. If a hen is hatching during a storm, not one chick will appear. To prevent this electrical mischief, our wives have been taught to place a piece of iron in the bottom of the hens' nests. Part of the piece of iron, however, must touch the ground. By what magic I know not, but all the mischief is prevented. The eggs hatch healthy chicks. The name of that distinguished American cannot be mentioned without strong feelings. We are proud to call him an American. We are grateful to him for his help.

Before the erection of these iron pieces, the damage in Pennsylvania and everywhere by the thunder amounted to a lot of money. Now everyone may rest



secure. These iron rods fetch from the clouds, strange to tell, that powerful fire. They send it into the ground. Otherwise it strikes a house and sets it afire.

Happy Pennsylvania! Thou queen of provinces! Of all the useful citizens you have already produced, Benjamin Franklin is one of your greatest sons.

I want to tell you about the wisdom of an Indian dog that I saw not long ago. I was visiting a distant relation of my wife. He lives at the edge of the wilderness. He has a good mill and a very good farm. While I was there, a child about three years old was discovered missing. It was then about 10:00 in the morning.

The neighborhood was alerted. The family and everyone else roamed the neighborhood. In vain did they call his name a thousand times. There was only the echo from the still woods. I never saw such a sad sight. After dinner, everyone returned to the woods. They searched and searched. Finally night came on. The parents refused to return home. They spent the night with many of their friends at the foot of a tree. They wept for their poor child.

Next day, the search was begun again. But still there was no answer to their calls. Happily, about 1:00 an Indian passed by with his dog. He was told about the boy's disappearance. He immediately asked for the child's shoes and stockings. He made the dog smell them. Then he and the dog began walking in a circle around the house, going farther and farther into the woods. Shortly, the dog barked and ran off into the trees. This happy sound cheered up the boy's parents. The dog followed the scent and barked again. In about half an hour, he returned to the Indian, then he guided him to a large log where the child lay, half asleep and half fainting. The Indian tenderly brought the child home.



The boy's parents ran to meet the Indian. They embraced their child. They caught the Indian in their arms. They caressed the dog. Then they all returned to the house. After a sip or two of soup, the child opened his eyes and began to smile.

That night more than seventy people celebrated the boy's safe return in the parents' house. People heard about the news for miles around. Neighbors and friends all came to congratulate the parents and to thank the Indian. The Indian would not accept any reward.

I had never taken part in such a feast. There was cider, rum, peach brandy. These good people offered all that they had. The honest Indian all this while seemed embarrassed. All he said was, "I have done nothing for you but what you would have done for me. It was my dog that did it all. Since you are all happy, I am happy. Since you are all glad, I am glad."

In going through my woods, I am amazed at how many grapevines there are. In my own south swamp, there are enough grapes to make a hogshead of wine. But labor is so expensive. And I don't know how to make wine myself. So I really don't see how I can make wine. But I can make vinegar with the grapes. It is very strong, too.

Some time ago, I found a small sassafras tree in my woodland. A grapevine grew around it. I dug them up and carefully planted them in my garden. They both lived and grew healthy. They seemed to be twins of nature. That very year, the vine and the sassafras bore fruit and flowers. There is nothing in the plains of Virginia or the swamps of the Carolinas to equal this richness.

Do you remember how sweet the wild grape flowers smell? There is no perfume in the world to match it. But now imagine this: Not only do I have the perfume



of the wild grape. The sassafras flowers add their perfume too.

Next year I will send you some of the sassafras blossoms. They will be properly dried. I think they make a far better tea than that of the Chinese. If only the Chinese had sassafras, we would think it marvelous. But since it grows wild in our gardens, we overlook it. We often count it for very little. Like fools, we poison our bodies and spend our money on Chinese tea leaves.

You may laugh, but believe me, everyone here drinks tea. It is like a disease. From western Florida to the northernmost settlements in Canada, everyone drinks tea. The poorer the people, the stronger is the tea they drink. It is the fashion of the age.

Our cattle do not have as many diseases as yours. But I don't know much about cattle diseases. The worst one here is what we call the Spanish staggers. It is the plague of cattle. Some years ago, a Spanish ship was wrecked on the coast of Carolina. In its cargo were some hides infected with the disease. The infection came from that ship. It had never been known here before. Now and then, it breaks out. But I hear they have found a vaccine for the cattle. I don't know, however, how well it works.

This letter has been long, but I hope not too boring.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Behaved in the Early Republic Volume II



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Page 3: Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, London, 1823. **Page 5:** William Cooper, *A Guide in the Wilderness*, Dublin, 1810.

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Questions

1. Why did Americans sometimes dislike English visitors to their country?
2. Why is it necessary to live in a country before one can understand it and its people?
3. How did the founder of Cooperstown, New York, encourage settlers to stay on the land and develop it?
4. What kind of person was most likely to succeed as a settler in a new land?

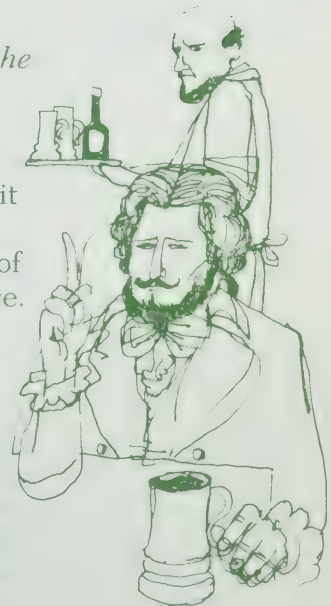
How People Behaved in the Early Republic Volume II

English Behavior in America

In the years after independence, many Englishmen visited the United States. They often made bad comparisons between this country and England. An American named Timothy Dwight got tired of what he called English rudeness. This is part of a letter he wrote to friends in England.

I have seen quite a few of the Englishmen who visit these states. Some of these people have been very important people. But no matter who they were, all of them are less friendly and less polite than people here. Don't think, however, that I do not like British manners. I do. A friendly, frank, and intelligent man from Great Britain is as fine a companion as I could wish.

The main reason why Englishmen complain of being badly treated here is that they cause the bad treatment. For example, when an Englishman comes into an inn, he treats the innkeeper as a servant. In fact, he treats him like a slave. I notice that it is only



the English who act this way. Since the innkeeper is not used to this treatment, he doesn't like it. I am not saying whether the manner of the British traveler is proper or not. It is not customary. For this reason, at least, it is not welcome. Every New England man feels quite independent. It is not strange, then, that he should not like to take orders when they are given rudely. A little politeness is all that is needed.

Englishmen are often dissatisfied with things in this country. They don't like what is done for them. They say that there is no good food or drink here. But I think they say this because they are determined *not* to be pleased. If you tell them they are drinking beer made in Philadelphia, they say it is terrible. But you can serve them the same beer but say it is from London and they will love it. The same can be said of Connecticut cheese.

I do believe, however, that your inns are better than ours. But our inns are better than those in any country except yours.

Englishmen say we are too curious. They say this is impolite. We are curious, but not as much as they say. I have traveled all over New England for the past sixteen years. No innkeeper has ever asked me who I was. He has not asked where I was going or what I did for a living.

One should not judge a town by an inn. One should not judge a whole society by an innkeeper. Also, Englishmen visiting here travel rapidly from town to town. It is almost impossible for them to learn much about the country itself. They pick up a little information at the inns. They get a little more from their fellow travelers. But the information is not always correct. It is necessary to live awhile in a country to really understand it and its people.

How to Found a Settlement

Judge William Cooper was the founder of the town of Cooperstown, New York. In his book A Guide in the Wilderness he tells how he did it. He also describes the problems and pleasures of frontier living. Part of his work is printed below.

In 1785, I visited the rough, hilly country of Otsego. There was not a person. There was no trace of a road. I was alone 300 miles from home without bread or meat of any kind. I caught trout in the brook and roasted them. My horse fed on grass that grew by the edge of the waters. I laid me down to sleep in my coat. Nothing but the lonely wilderness was around me. In this way, I explored the country and planned my future settlement. I decided upon the spot where the village [of Cooperstown] would be.

In May 1786, I opened the sale of 40,000 acres. Within sixteen days, all were sold. But the men who bought them did not have much money left over. None of them had the means to clear more than a small spot in the forest. So their grain did not get much sun. Their corn did not ripen. The nearest mill was 20 miles away. But not one in twenty men had a horse, so it was hard to get the grain to the mill.

I lived among these people. I saw how bad their condition was. I built a storehouse and each winter filled it with grain. I bought the grain from all over the country.

I borrowed some money from a friend of mine. With it, I bought a lot of sugar kettles. I also got some potash kettles. [Potash is a kind of fertilizer.] In this



way, I started potash works among the settlers. I also got them to making maple sugar. In the first year, we got 43 hogsheads of sugar and 300 barrels of potash. All this was worth about \$9,000. This kept the people together and at home. The future of the area was bright.

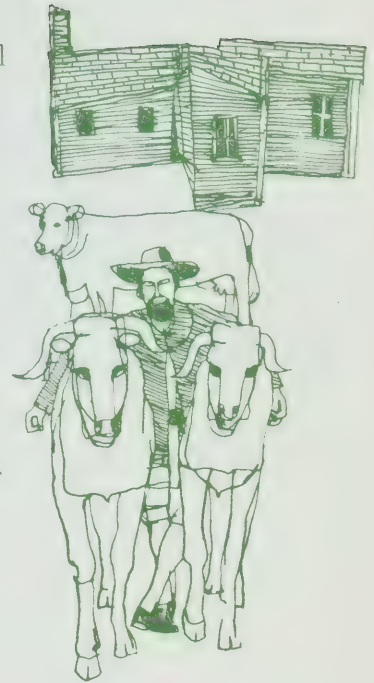
We had many problems in starting the settlement. It was on the roughest land in all the state. It was the most difficult to farm. But for many years now, it has produced everything that man needs. It has eight thousand people. There are schools, churches, meetinghouses, turnpike roads, and a market town. Each year, we produce wheat and other grain. There are lots of oxen, pork, potash in barrels, and other goods. The waters are stocked with fish. The air is healthy and clear. People seem healthy and happy. When I see this and remember our past hardships, it makes me proud.

I have learned one thing about being a landlord. Do not press the renter too hard for rent. When a poor man buys land, he probably only has a cow and two oxen. But he will not have money to hire a helper. So he must clear the land with his own hands. Since he has no pasture for his cattle, they must range the woods for food. Every day, he must find the cow before he can have breakfast. He must also find the oxen before he can do any work. Most of the day is wasted in this way. His strength is also spent for little use. He will be lucky if he earns his own living within three years. He will need a barn to shelter his cattle and grain. His children are still too young to help him. They need a school. His wife is living poorly in a house that is not very well built. She and the children may get ill. There will be doctor bills. If, at this time, the landlord presses the settler for rent, the man may sink down in distress. The landlord, at this time, should



hold off. He should not ask for rent. Then the man will be encouraged. He will make a success of his farm. Perhaps, however, the settler still cannot meet the payment. In that case, the landlord should take wheat or some other crop for payment until the settler can pay in cash. This is both wise and just of the landlord. It is also in the landlord's interest. The settler will be happy, too. He will not run away. He is tied to the land by affection and duty. He will pay his rent cheerfully as soon as he can.

Now I have explained as well as I can the problems of settling in a new land. But be sure to understand this: No man will succeed unless he has a steady mind. He must also have strength, wisdom, and, above all, common sense.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Alexander Hamilton and the Good Society



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Questions

1. What benefits did Alexander Hamilton believe the United States would gain by aiding manufacturing?
2. How could manufacturing help farmers?
3. Why was Jefferson against large manufacturing centers?
4. Why was farming considered better for the country than manufacturing?

Alexander Hamilton and the Good Society

Hamilton Wants Manufacturing



In 1791, Alexander Hamilton presented a report to the House of Representatives. In it, he asked that the nation's wealth be used to encourage manufacturing industries. The farmers of the nation, however, were not interested in manufacturing. They did not think the government should help increase manufacturing. Hamilton hoped to convince them of his point of view. Parts of his report are given below.

Most people generally agree now that we must encourage manufacturing in the United States. But there are some who do not agree. Here are the reasons they usually give.

They say that in every country, agriculture [farming] is the most healthful and productive business activity. Nothing can cause so much benefit as using capital and labor to turn our great wilderness into farmland. Nothing, they say, can equal this activity in benefiting the people, the strength, and richness of the country.

They say that the United States has few people for its size. People are always tempted to lead independent lives as farmers. They do not want to be workers in a factory. That position is less independent. Therefore, there aren't many people available to work in manufacturing. Further, it is difficult for American manufactured goods to compete with European goods. European goods can be made more cheaply and sold more cheaply.

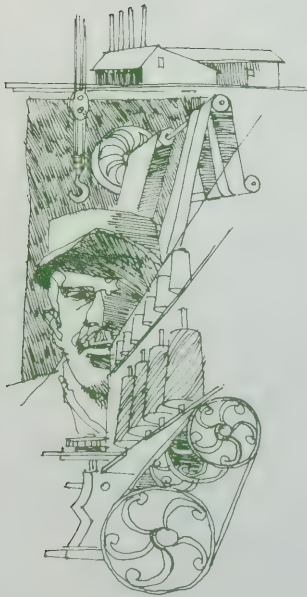
Well, it is not certain that farming should be the only activity in a state. There is no proof that farming is more productive than any other kind of industry. One argument used is that in farming man cooperates with nature. The result of this joint labor is greater than the labor of one man alone. This is silly. It is possible that one man working with great skill and art can be more productive than the labor of farmer and nature combined. It can also be seen that the power of machines may be more important in manufacturing than nature!

Farm labor depends on the seasons, so this labor is not continuous. Labor in manufacturing is constant and regular all year long and often day and night.

Manufacturing opens more new fields of activity than farming. Thus it is more productive.

It is time now to show why manufacturing adds to the production and income of society. Here are some of the reasons:

- *The division of labor.* The separation of occupations causes each job to be done better. Skill comes in performing one job all the time. Time is also saved because one person stays on the same job. He does not shift. So he does not have to spend time getting used to a different job.
- *Additional use of machinery.* Machinery is an artificial force added to the natural force of man.



Machinery is the same as additional hands of workers. This increase in work power does not have to be clothed and fed as human laborers do.

The cotton mill invented in England within the last twenty years is an example. All the different processes for spinning cotton are done by machines. This invention is responsible for the great progress made by Great Britain in cotton manufacture.

- *Added employment.* Manufacturing gives extra and part-time employment to people. This gives them additional income.

- *Promotes emigration of people from Europe.* Manufacturers in Europe will come here in great numbers when they know of the advantages that await them.

- *Greater opportunity for different talents.* When a community has all kinds of industries, there are a lot of different jobs. Each person can better find a job for his particular skill. The community thus benefits when as many talents of its people as possible are employed.

- *More different activities.* The wealth of a nation can be increased by stimulating the human mind. Every new enterprise adds new ideas and new energy to a country.

- *Manufacturing helps the prosperity of farmers.* The first duty of a nation is to feed itself from its own soil. But there must also be a market for the surplus production. Manufacturing industries in a country create many jobs for people. These people are not farm producers. They are consumers of farm products. So they are a market for agricultural goods. In this way, manufacturing industries create markets for a nation's farm products.

If it seems that it is in the interest of the United States to encourage manufacturing, it should be done right away. This is the time to do it with great energy.



It cannot fail to increase the wealth of the United States.

Jefferson Wants Farming

Unlike Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson did not want to see the new country become a manufacturing one. He did not want high tariffs to protect our own industry. He wanted low tariffs and free trade. He wanted the nation to be based on agriculture. He wrote his view in a book called Notes on the State of Virginia. Part of it follows.

Specialists in Europe have decided that every state should try to do its own manufacturing. They believe that this principle should be transferred to America. But, as in many things, they forget that what does well for Europe may not be good for this country. America is not Europe.

In Europe, all the land is fully occupied. It is all used up in farming or in other ways. There are more people than land. So people must turn to manufacturing. It is the only other way to support the people of Europe. But that is not the case in this country.

Here we have a huge amount of land. We have more land than we have people. So isn't it better to have most of our citizens employed in improving the land and making it bear crops? Those who farm are the chosen people of God—that is, if He has a chosen people. In them, He keeps alive the feelings of honesty and goodness and purity.



There has never been any nation in the world which has become rotten and evil because of its farmers. Men who work in open fields appreciate the earth and the beauty of nature. They understand the dignity of man. But those who work in cities are in manufacturing. They are in handicrafts. This often makes them wicked and mean. This is because they are dependent on the customer. They must try to please him. This makes a person something like a slave. It limits independence. It encourages envy and ambition. Men want to become like their customers.

In general, the more farmers there are in a country the healthier that country is. As long as we have land, then let us farm it. Never wish to see our citizens at a workbench or in a spinning mill.

We do need carpenters, masons, and blacksmiths for our farms. But let the big manufacturing centers stay in Europe. It is better to carry our materials to workmen there. If we bring the workers here, we also bring their manners and their habits. These are inferior to the manners and habits of our farmers. So let them stay in Europe. We do not want to see groups of people jammed in great cities over here. Big cities add about as much strength to a nation as sores do to a body.



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The Dorr Rebellion



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Questions

1. What were Thomas Dorr's main arguments against the established government of Rhode Island in 1824?
2. According to Dorr, who should have the power in the state? Why?
3. Why was there a threat of civil war in Rhode Island?
4. What group opposed the actions of Thomas Dorr? Why?

The Dorr Rebellion

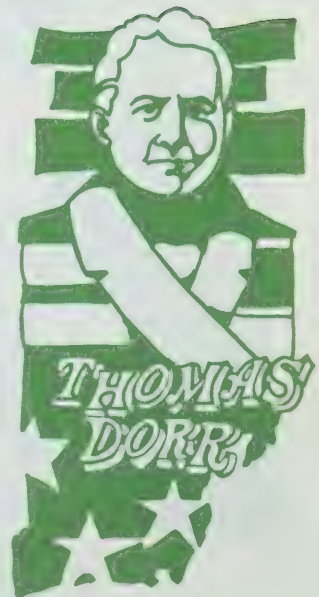
The Right to Remake the Constitution of a State

Thomas Dorr of Rhode Island called a state constitutional convention in 1841. He and his followers said that the established government, the Assembly, was not paying attention to the wishes and needs of the majority of the people in the state. A new constitution was drawn up and accepted by a majority of the state voters.

The Assembly refused to recognize the new constitution. Dorr and his people then rebelled against the Assembly and the governor. Dorr set up his own government.

For awhile, Rhode Island had two governments. The rebellion failed, however, and Dorr was sentenced to prison. Later the charges against him were canceled and he was freed.

This is part of a speech Dorr made to the men of the Dorr government in May of 1842. This was just before he took up arms against the governor and the Assembly.



There are two questions which must be answered. Do the people of this state have the right to change their constitution? Did a majority of the people adopt the new constitution?

There is no doubt that the people rule in this country. The Revolution cut the ties between the colonies and the parent country [England]. The ruling power then passed not to the new government of this country which the states created. It did not pass to the state governments. It did not pass to some people and not to others. The supreme power passed to all the people of the states. It has remained there ever since. This is the rule of our fathers. It should be guarded as sacred. It is the only safe foundation of our political system.

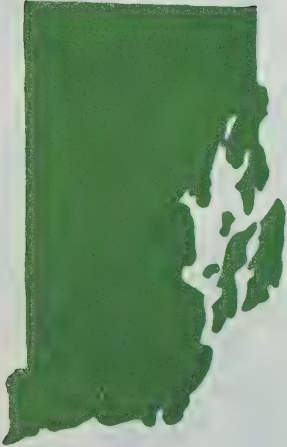
The idea that government is the source of power in this country is a foreign idea. The moment we admit that no change can take place in government without the permission of government officials, we fall into the worn-out practice of the kingdoms of Europe.

If the people of Rhode Island are wrong in what they have done, they have at least done one service. They have proved that the people in this nation do not have the supreme power they thought they had.

Supreme power is that power which can decide the form of government a nation will have and how the government will operate. It is, of course, superior to the legislative branch of government. The legislature can act only according to rules called a constitution.

It is our misfortune that in this state there has been no expression of the people's will until recently. The legislature, therefore, has come to regard itself as the only power in the state. Those who want to remind

RHODE ISLAND



them that the people have sovereign power are made to seem enemies of law and order.

We say again that the people have a right to change the government when they feel it is necessary. If the people have the right to agree to laws, they also have the right to disagree with them and to change them.

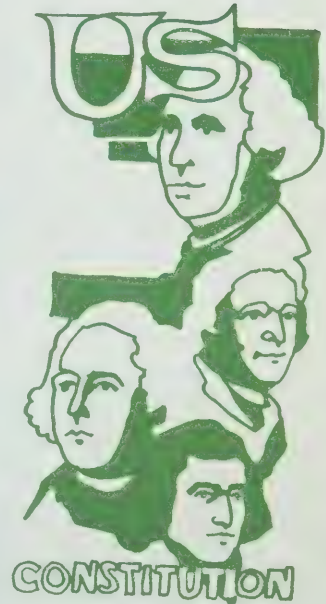
The Declaration of Independence says that governments get their power from the consent of the people. It is the right of people to change or abolish their government when they think it necessary. They have the right to start a new government. This is a principle which has been laid down by the fathers of the Constitution. It was laid down by Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Thomas Jefferson.

At the session of the Assembly in March 1842, the new people's constitution was presented to the Assembly. The constitution had been ratified by the votes of the people. But the popular will was totally disregarded by the Assembly.

The Assembly is now making military preparations. The people have, therefore, been put on guard. But this is not the age nor the country in which the will of the people can be defeated by such measures.

Our fellow citizens in other states can see that the people of this state are engaged in a just and honorable cause. They have taken the only course to exercise their just rights.

To end these words, I would like to remind you of the constitution. No favor or disfavor ought to be shown in laws toward any man, party, society, or religious group. The laws should be made not for the good of the few but for the good of the many. The duties and burdens of the state should be fairly distributed among its citizens.



Rebellion in Rhode Island

Below is part of a diary kept by a conservative New Yorker named Philip Hone. He did not like Thomas Dorr and doubted that Dorr's actions were legal.

April 21, 1842. A terrible noise is going on in the little state of Rhode Island. A group of troublemaking radicals are the cause of it all. They have been unable to change the politics of that steady state by fair means. They have been unable to get into office. So they have tried to defeat the will of the people. (But when it suits them they pretend to be the champions of the people.) They have made a constitution of their own. They have also elected a governor (a Mr. Dorr) and state officers. The sensible part of the community has proceeded according to law. They have reelected the present governor (King) and the state officers. So the smallest state in the Union is the only one that can boast of two governors. The threat of civil war hangs over an area noted until now as law-abiding and orderly.

What cruel acts are committed these days in the name of liberty! The people's will is defeated by those who claim to be its best friends. The Rhode Island rebels don't intend to listen to the voice of the people.

May 3, 1842. Tomorrow is the day when the rebels in Rhode Island organize their pretended government. In case of violence, United States troops have been sent to Providence [capital of Rhode Island]. General Wood is on the spot and ready for business. It is hoped that this will keep the peace and prevent bloodshed.

Down, down is the direction of all political affairs in this country. How pleased old King George III would be if he could see us now. He would rejoice at the probable failure of our experiment in self-government.

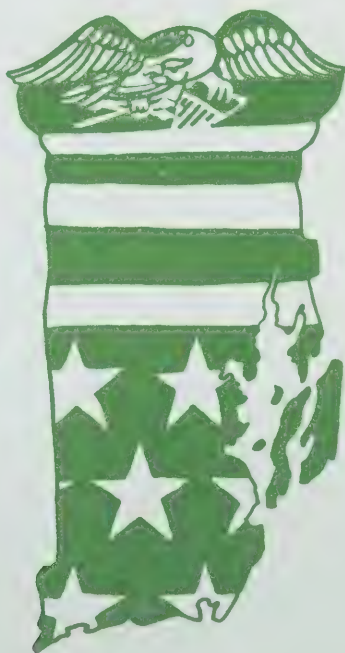
May 19, 1842. Affairs have changed in Rhode Island.
Governor Dorr finds his friends slipping away from
him. His enemies are gaining in strength and courage.
So he *took off* in the middle of the night.

Governor King and a sheriff went to arrest him
yesterday morning. They found he had "made tracks"!

And Governor Dorr

Was seen no more

The steamboat tomorrow will, I hope, bring us the
happy news that the civil war is over.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Secession Tests the Social System



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Page 3: *Dred Scott vs. Sandford*, 19 Howard 393. **Page 5:** John George Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, a History*, New York, 1890. **Page 7:** *The Life, Trial, and Execution of Captain John Brown*, New York, 1859.

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Questions

1. Why did people have opposing views about the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case?
2. How was the U.S. Constitution used to "prove" arguments either for or against the Dred Scott decision?
3. In the middle 1800s, how did many whites regard black people? Were these views based on fact?
4. Why was John Brown willing to die for what he believed?

Secession Tests the Social System

The Dred Scott Decision

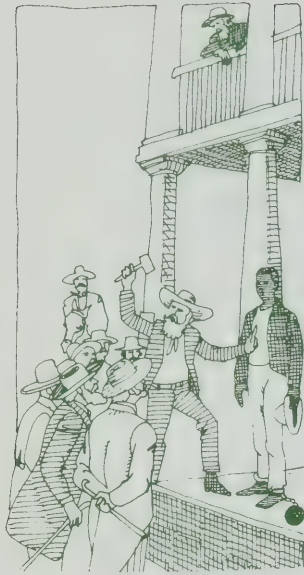
In December 1856, the United States Supreme Court helped bring about the Civil War by its decision in the Dred Scott case. The facts of the case were these: Dred Scott was a slave. He was taken by his master from the state of Missouri to Illinois. Missouri was a slave state but Illinois was free. Scott was later taken back to Missouri and sold to a new owner. Scott then sued his new owner, saying that since he had lived in a free state he was now a free man.

The case went all the way to the Supreme Court. That court said that Scott was still a slave. Since he was a slave, he was not a citizen. Only citizens, said the court, could sue in the courts. This enraged abolitionists and delighted the South. The hatred between North and South widened.

Below is part of what the court said. Chief Justice Taney is speaking.

Can a Negro whose ancestors were brought into this country and sold as slaves be a citizen of the country





formed by the Constitution of the United States? Does he have all the rights and privileges guaranteed to a citizen by the Constitution? One of these rights is the right to sue in a court of the United States.

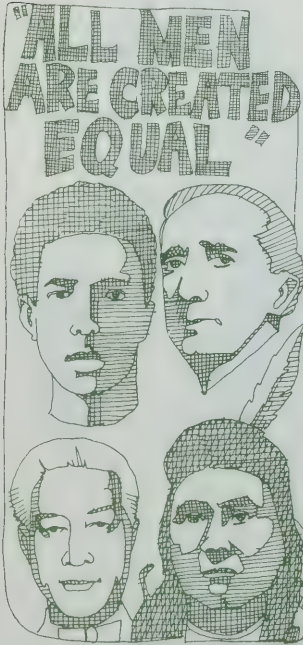
The opinion of this court is that slaves and their descendants were not considered citizens by those who made the Declaration of Independence.

For more than a hundred years before, they had been considered an inferior race. They were not fit to associate with the white race either in society or in politics. They had no rights. Negroes were bought and sold and treated as articles of goods. This opinion was universally held at that time by the white race. No one thought of questioning it. People acted on it daily and in every way without doubting for a moment that it was correct.

The words of the Declaration of Independence are: All men are created equal. It says that all men have the right to have life and liberty and to pursue happiness. Now these words seem to mean all of the human family. That is what the words do mean today. But they did not have that meaning to the founding fathers. The enslaved African race was not to be included. It formed no part of the people then. The conduct of the men who framed the Declaration of Independence showed the proof of this. Many of them had slaves. They would not say one thing but do another.

Chief Justice Taney gave the view of most of the judges on the Supreme Court. But there was an opposite view. It was given by Justice McLean.

The love of money made people bring slaves into this country. The system of slavery was introduced into the colonies by the mother country. It is true to say that most countries were engaged in slavery at the



time the Declaration of Independence was written. But I prefer to interpret the Constitution by what it says. I don't want to look behind it into a practice that is now declared to be a crime. Slave trading now is a crime punishable by death! All Christian nations agree to this.

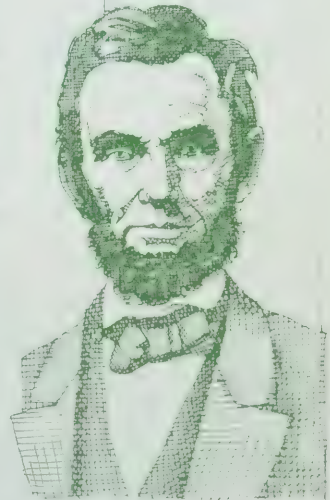
Our domestic relations should not be guided by such a dark past. Our independence was a great moment in the history of man and freedom. I admit the government was not made especially for the colored race. Yet many of them were citizens of the New England States. They exercised their rights of citizenship when the Constitution was adopted. Every intelligent person knew that the Constitution was supposed to benefit their condition.

Secession Tests the System

In 1857, the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that a Negro cannot sue in the U.S. courts. It also ruled that Congress cannot prohibit slavery in U.S. territories. This was a blow to the Republican party, which was trying to limit the growth of slavery. On June 26, 1857, Abraham Lincoln delivered a speech in Springfield, Illinois, against the Supreme Court decision.

We think the Dred Scott decision is wrong. We know the court has often overruled its own decisions. We hope it will do the same with this one.

Let's look at the facts. Chief Justice Taney says that blacks were not part of the people for whom the



Declaration of Independence or the Constitution was made. But Judge Curtis disagrees. He says that in five of the then thirteen states, free Negroes were voters. These states were New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and North Carolina. Therefore, says Judge Curtis, Negroes had the same part in making the Constitution that white people had.

The Chief Justice also assumes that the public thinks more highly of the black man now than it did in Revolutionary days. This is not so. The black race may be better off in some small ways. But as a whole the race is worse off in this country.

In earlier days, masters could free their slaves. But now there is so much trouble involved that it is hardly ever done. In earlier days state legislatures could abolish slavery if they wished. Now, state constitutions do not allow legislatures to do so.

In earlier days, our Declaration of Independence was held sacred by all. It was thought to include all men when it says "all men are created equal." Now the Constitution is attacked and sneered at by those who want to keep the black man in universal and eternal slavery. All the powers of earth seem against the blacks.

The Republicans, however, believe that a black man is a human being. They believe that slavery is cruel and wrong. They believe that slavery should not be allowed to spread further.

The Democrats say that slaves are not men. They deny that slavery is wrong. They try to kill all sympathy for the blacks. They try to make people feel hatred for them. In fact, they call slavery a "sacred right of government."

The plainest words cannot be heard by those who only hear the clink of gold. Few men will pay the passage of their slaves to Africa, where they would be freed. They would rather send their slaves to other

parts of the country—Kansas for example—and sell them for \$1,500 each.

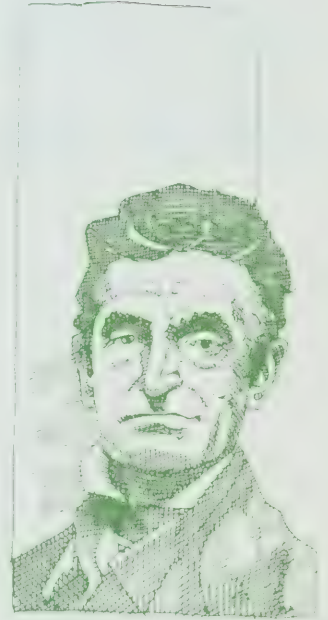
John Brown's Last Words

John Brown was a violent abolitionist. He killed several slave-owners. In 1859 he led a raid against a United States arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia. Most abolitionists agreed with Brown's view of slavery. But they were horrified by the murders he committed. Brown was charged with treason and sentenced to death. Not long after his death, the Civil War broke out. John Brown then became a hero to many. The following is part of the speech John Brown made to the court a month before he was hanged.

In the first place, I deny everything except my desire to free the slaves. That was all I intended to do. I never did intend murder or treason. I did not intend to destroy property or ask people to help make revolution.

This court admits, I think, the truth of God's law. I see that a book has been kissed here. I think it is the Bible or at least the New Testament. That book teaches me the golden rule: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you. I believe that I was right in doing what I have done. I did try to help God's poor people. I admit that.

But now it seems that I will lose my life for doing it. I must mingle my blood with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are ignored. Cruel, wicked, and unjust laws take away our rights. But if my life will aid justice, then I say: Let it be done!



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893



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Page 4: Chicago Herald, 1894. **Page 5:** Chicago Herald, 1894. **Page 7:** Charles Moore, ed., *Plan of Chicago*, Commercial Club of Chicago, 1908.

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Questions

1. According to James Baird Weaver, what did the Populist Party of 1892 stand for?
2. Compare the complaints of the Pullman Car Company and the railway workers in the Pullman strike.
3. Why did workers live in Pullman Company houses?
4. What are some advantages of living in planned cities or towns?

The Chicago World's Fair of 1893

Wealth, Poverty, and Monopoly

The World's Fair in Chicago in 1893 showed the bright side of science and technology. But there was a darker side. Industry created problems for people. In some ways, life was not as good as it had been. Here are some examples of problems caused by industrial progress. The first was given by James Baird Weaver. Weaver was the Populist party's candidate for president in 1892. This is part of an article entitled "A Call to Action," which he wrote that year.

Life in America has changed much in the past hundred years. Our founding fathers would just not believe it. There is now such a sad difference between the rich and the poor. There is happiness for some people. But many more live in great unhappiness. If anyone had predicted this a hundred years ago, people would have called him a man who hated people and democracy.

Our grandfathers won the great struggle for independence in colonial days. Now we are in a struggle to gain wealth. Our grandfathers fought for



the rights of man in a battle that shook the world. Today, our leaders think mainly of their special privileges and their social position.

In 1890, the son of a very wealthy New York family was married. The families of the bride and groom had millions of dollars. The wedding was a great affair. The wedding cost \$25,000. The presents cost \$2 million. The couple, their servants, and friends set out on a yachting cruise. The cruise cost \$10,000 a month.

At this same time, 150,000 persons in New York City were looking for work and finding none. Another 150,000 earned less than 60 cents a day. For this money, they had to work from 11 to 16 hours a day. Over 23,000 families in New York City were forced from their homes because they could not pay the rent.

Managers of businesses have one thing which working people do not have—that is ready cash. But labor has what managers do not have—that is numbers. There are more working people than managers. Management uses wealth as a weapon. Why shouldn't labor use its numbers as a weapon? Working men should vote against conditions they do not like. Management tries to get more work out of labor for as little money as possible. If labor will not vote against injustice, then force is the only solution.



The Pullman Strike — Labor's View

The farmers were not the only ones in trouble. Workers in cities were too. One year after the World's Fair of 1893 in Chicago, a great strike took place in that city. Members of the American Railway Union struck against the Great Northern Railway. The strike

was to show sympathy for workers in the Pullman Car Company, who were trying to get higher wages. This is part of a speech given by a striker to the American Railway Union Convention in 1894. He gives the workers' complaints against the company.

It is hard to know where to begin. Two members of our Grievance Committee were fired by George Pullman. This was after he said he would *not* fire these men. Our wages have been reduced five times between May and December 1893. The last reduction was almost 30 percent. Our working conditions have gotten worse.

We owed Pullman \$70,000 when we struck May 11. We owe him twice as much today. He does not throw us out of the Pullman Company houses. He is careful about public opinion. But he hopes to starve us out.

Rents all over the city have fallen. Some have fallen 50 percent. Rents in a nearby town are only \$8. But those who rent houses from Pullman still pay \$15.

Pullman buys water at 8 cents a thousand gallons. But he sells it to us at 500 percent more. Gas he buys at 75 cents per 1,000 feet. He sells it to us for \$2.25.

He has cut our wages from 30 to 70 percent. But he has paid the stockholders well.

Help us, our union brothers, to make our country better and more wholesome. Warn those who take advantage of the poor that there is still a God.



The Pullman Strike — Management's View

Two weeks after the speech you just read, the Pullman Company told its side of the story. The company gave

a statement which was published in the Chicago Herald. Here is part of it.

The American Railway Union threatens to interfere with travel on railway lines using Pullman cars. Therefore, the Pullman Company now makes public these facts.

A serious depression began in 1893. At that time, Pullman Company employed 5,816 people. It paid out \$305,000 a month in wages. But because of the depression, companies canceled their orders. We had to lay off a large number of men. By November 1, 1893, there were only about 2,000 men at work.

The manager tried to find a way to lower our prices and compete for the few customers. We did get enough orders at lower prices. So we increased our work force to about 4,200. But we are selling these railroad cars at \$300 per car less than they cost the company to make.

If the company now restores wages to the early 1893 level, it would be unfortunate. There is less than two months of work in sight on our present orders. There is no chance of more orders at higher prices.

As for rents, the company's return on money invested in houses is a little more than 3½ percent. This is not a good return on an investment.

A few weeks ago, a committee of workmen met with the Pullman vice-president to discuss wages and small grievances. The workers' committee insisted that the wages of the first half of 1893 be paid again. The Pullman vice-president and Mr. Pullman explained why that would be impossible at this time.

On the night of May 10, the local workers' committee decided to go out on strike. Only about 600 workers stayed on the job. But these men were not skilled workers. So they too were laid off. The shop closed.



The American Railway Union now is threatening to strike on those railroads using Pullman cars.

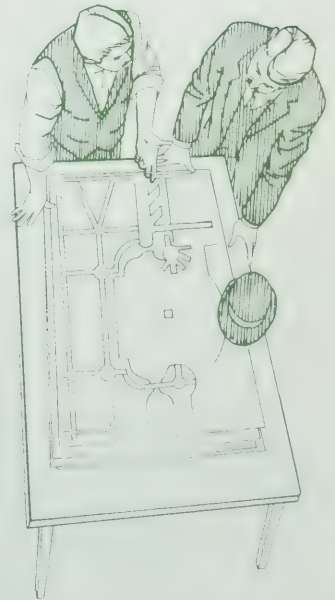
New Plan for Chicago

Some men were beginning to realize that city life had to be made more pleasant. Factories, smoke, noise, and crowding made cities unpleasant. If people did not come to a town, however, it would die. Two specialists in town planning were Daniel Burnham and Edward Bennett. In 1909, they gave their idea of a new plan for Chicago. Here are some of their suggestions.

The plan of Chicago may seem at first to cost too much money. But if people like it, there will not be any serious trouble getting the money.

Here are the main things the plan calls for.

- Improve the lakefront. We should stop dumping trash into Lake Michigan. Use the lakefront land for parks and roads.
- Build highways around the city. There are already some roads. We should widen them. They should have better pavings. Let's plant trees along the roads.
- Improve railway stations to attract more freight and passengers. Goods can be moved easily into and out of Chicago. This helps the city earn income.
- Buy land for a system of parks around the city. As the city grows, parks become more important. They will make life more pleasant in the cities. The value of land will also increase.
- Streets and avenues should be built in an orderly way. This does cost money. But it must be done. Then people can move easily in the city.



- Recreation centers and city government centers should be built. These give meaning and unity to a city. Everyone will then know where the government is located. Everyone will also know where areas for play and relaxation are.

When Paris, France, undertook its plans for new parks and fine boulevards, the expense seemed great. But beautiful Paris today delights more than the people of Paris. The city is a delight to all French people and to people from all over the world.

A good plan for Chicago will help business to grow there. It will make life more enjoyable for our citizens. It will make Chicago very attractive. Strangers will seek our gates.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Dillingham Commission



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Questions

1. Why was education so important to immigrants settling in the United States at the turn of the century?
2. What kinds of jobs did the newly arrived immigrants probably obtain? For what reasons?
3. How could a place like Hull House help the immigrant learn to live in America?
4. What problems would Americans probably have if they had to suddenly start a new life in a country such as Poland or Italy?

The Dillingham Commission

An Immigrant's First Days in the New Land

Below is part of a book written by Mary Antin. In it, she describes her first feelings when she arrived here as a teen-ager from Russia. That was in 1894. She landed in New York, and then went to Boston with her family.

My father began to tell us about American ways the moment we set foot in this country. My father started talking to us about them right away. We took an old cab from the pier to Wall Street. My father told us not to lean out the window. He told us not to point. Only "greenhorns" did that, he said. We did not want to be greenhorns. So we paid close attention to everything father said.

I'll never forget our first meal. My father gave us several kinds of food. They all came from little tin cans. They had printing all over them. The food was ready to eat without cooking at all.

My father also tried to get us to eat a funny slippery kind of fruit. He called it a *banana*. But none of us



would touch one. After dinner, he had better luck. He showed us a piece of furniture we had never seen. It was called a *rocking chair*.

There were five of us children. We all had different ways of trying to climb into that chair. You can't imagine what a difficult time we had. We fell and sprawled. How we laughed at ourselves.

In our apartment, there was no bathtub. So in the evening of our first day my father took us to the public baths. We moved along in a single file. I was amazed by how lit up the streets were. There were so many lamps. They burned until morning, my father said. People in America did not need to carry lanterns. In America, then, everything was free just like we had heard. Light was free. The streets were as bright as a synagogue on a holy day. Music was free also. We had been serenaded by a brass band just a few hours before. You can imagine our delight.

Education in America was free. My father talked about that a lot. It was his chief hope for us children. It was the door to American opportunity. Education was a treasure. No thief could touch it. No misfortune or poverty could take it away once you got it. It was the one thing my father could promise us. Getting an education was more certain than food or shelter.

On our second day I realized what free education really meant. A little girl across the alley came to see us. She offered to take us to school. My father was out. But we five children between us knew a few words of English. We knew the word *school*. We understood what she said. This child had never seen us until the day before. She could not pronounce our names. She was much better dressed than we. Yet she was able to offer us the freedom of the schools of Boston. There were no applications to make. No questions were asked. There were no fees, no rulings, no exams for



entering. The doors stood open for every one of us. The smallest child could show us the way. I have never forgotten that day. It was really happening to me. It was happening just like I had heard it might. I was going to a free school. Only when it happens to you can you understand what I mean.

I will always remember that first day in public school. Even if I live to be so old that I forget my name. To most people their first day in school is important. For me it was a hundred times more. I had waited so long. I had come so far. I had such youthful ambitions.

The Difficulties of Becoming American

Below is part of a letter sent to the Massachusetts Immigration Commission in 1913. It was sent by a Polish immigrant, and so the spelling and words are sometimes not quite right. But the letter shows some of the difficulties faced by aliens when they came here.

I'm in this country four months. I am polish man. I want to be American citizen. But my friends are polish people. I must live with them. I work in the shoes-shop with polish people—I stay all the time with them—at home—in the shop—anywhere.

I want live with American people. But I do not know anybody of American. I go 4 times to teacher and must pay \$2 weekly. I wanted take board in english house, but I could not. I earn only \$5 or 6 in a week. When I pay teacher \$2, I have only \$4-\$3—and now english board house is too dear for me.



It is hard for me to get a better job. I do not speak well english. I cannot understand what they say to me. The teacher teach me but when I come home I must speak polish. In this way I can live many years in your country. Still I will never speak or write well english. Never can I be a good American citizen. I know here many people who have lived here 10 or more years. Still they are not citizens. They do not know geography and history of this country. They don't know the Constitution of america—nothing.

I don't like to be like them. I want go away from them. But where? Not in the country because I want go in the city. There are free evening schools. I'm looking for help. If somebody could give me a job between american people. Help me live with them and learn english. It would be very, very good for me. Perhaps you have somebody.

I wrote this letter by myself and I know no good—but I hope you will understand what I mean.

Excuse me,
F.N.

Problems of Immigrant Schoolchildren

In Chicago, Illinois, Jane Addams ran a home called Hull House. It was a place where immigrants could find out about life in America. They learned what skills they needed. They learned where they might find jobs. For many years, Jane Addams and her friends helped the immigrants with their problems. Below is part of a speech she gave in 1897. In it, she tells about the problems of immigrant schoolchildren.

The people of the Nineteenth Ward are mainly Italians. They come from southern Italy and Sicily. Some come from the workingman's district of Naples. They have come to America to earn money. They have come to give their children more opportunity. But in almost all cases, they plan to go back to Italy. They simply cannot think of living forever away from their old life.

Their life in Italy was simple and out of doors. They took their ideas from nature. After all, they had to struggle with nature. They had to earn a living from the soil. They did it with their own handmade tools.

The women in Italy had to do more different things than the men. They had to cook, spin, knit. In addition, they worked in the fields. Very few of these men and women can read or write.

They are devoted to their children. There is a strong family feeling. It includes even third and fourth cousins.

Italian parents count on their children to learn American customs and to speak English before they do. The children act as interpreters of the language. They protect the parents, in a way, from American life in Chicago. This makes the parents very dependent on the child. So when a member of the family goes to school, this means a lot to everyone in the family. He can help tell them about American life.

The children who go to school are six, eight, or ten. They enter, of course, at the primary grades. But a boy of twelve or thirteen who arrives in America does not often go to school. His parents need him to help earn a living. The girl of the same age is already thinking about getting married.

Let us look at one of these young boys. He is six or eight. He speaks his native language. He feels strongly a part of his family. His parents and grandparents have always used their hands in the open air. They have led



open, active lives. Yet this boy must first of all learn to be different. When he goes to school, the first thing he must do is sit still. At least he must for part of the time. He must also learn to listen to what is said to him. And he has got to hear all this in a foreign language. This is not very interesting for him. He is slow to say and do things. He doesn't care about showing off. He doesn't care about saying clever things in class. He leaves that to his schoolmates who know English better.



Social Science Satellite Kit

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Alice Paul and Her Ladies



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February 24, 1912. **Page 6:** From *JAILED FOR FREEDOM* by Doris
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Questions

1. Is there any reason to think that Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones believed in the old saying, "Might makes right"?
2. What were Edwin D. Mead's views on the right of women to vote?
3. Why didn't all women feel it was their right to vote?
4. What contrasts or similarities can be seen between the actions of the women suffragists of the early 1900s and the women's liberationists of the 1970s?

Alice Paul and Her Ladies

Women Should Not Vote

In the early 1900s, the argument about whether women should have the right to vote got louder. Many women were against women getting the vote. One was Mrs. Gilbert E. Jones. This is part of an article she wrote in 1910.

Women suffragists say women need to vote to protect themselves. They say the laws which men make are unfair to women. They say women must have the lawmaking power [the vote] in their own hands to get fair play. But American women do not need that power. Generally the laws now are far fairer to women than if women had made them. Women just do not have the necessary knowledge or understanding of politics to make laws.

Constitutional government didn't happen as an accident. It has a distinct form. It has established ways of doing things. There is a very good reason for *not* asking women to take part in government. All voting at the polls must be backed by power. Men not only have power, they *must* have it if they accept the



privilege of voting. Men must fight and even die for the state. This is a guarantee of its safety and its life in peace and war.

Women may have great morality, intelligence, and the ability to pay taxes. But these are not all the requirements for voting. Men do not vote because they are moral, intelligent, or taxpayers *only*. They must also have force. Government asks men to take the responsibility of maintaining and preserving its life. Men form the *only* basis on which the government can depend. In a democracy this is and must be the structure of society. Men are the rock on which government is built, whatever its form. Women never were and never will be.

Giving men the vote recognizes this fact. Giving women the vote would deny the fact.

Citizenship is a right that is granted. Suffragists argue that every citizen should be a voter. That is incorrect. Citizens can be and have been without the right to vote. But they still can be citizens and have all the privileges of citizens. Government does not let a man vote just to express his viewpoints. The government demands the service and loyalty of the voter. He may even be asked to die for the state. Nearly a half million men did die during the Civil War.

Men and women could not enjoy our present civilization if men did not back up the government. Male force is needed for a strong democratic government.

We find that the progress of woman here is beyond anything the world has ever seen. She has made enormous advances in her economic, social and cultural position. Those of us who are against women voting can say with pride that all this has been done without granting women the right to vote.

Voting and Fighting

The article on pages 3–4 made many women angry. But men also attacked Mrs. Jones’s argument. This is part of an article written by Edwin D. Mead.

Every now and then, someone declares that no woman should be allowed to vote unless. . . . Unless what? Unless she joins the army or becomes a policewoman. She must use a gun or billy club to defend the state. Then she can vote!

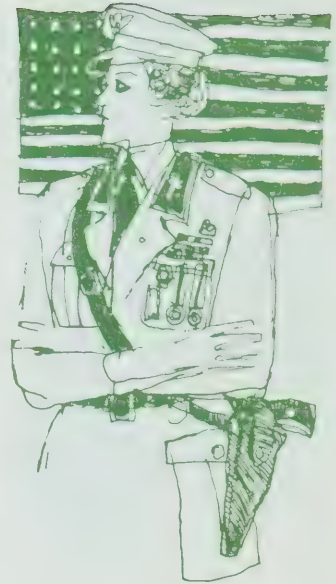
No one ever heard of this silly idea before. It was only brought up to keep women from getting the right to vote. A man doesn’t have to serve in the army or use a gun to have the right to vote. There is no nation on earth where a man must fight before he can vote. No man was allowed to vote just because he was a soldier. I wonder how many people know how many Civil War soldiers were voters. Of the three million who enlisted, more than two million were under 21.

If only men who were willing and able to do military service are allowed to vote, then the same rule should apply to women. But we know that men who are old, crippled, feeble, and even blind are allowed to vote. So another reason must be found to keep women from the ballot box. The idea that they must fight if they vote is silly.

This kind of argument almost always comes from a man who could not fight himself. It is usually some peaceful old clergyman. Often it is an old fat doctor who would die after a march of 5 miles.

It must also be remembered that it is women who furnish the soldiers. As one man said: “Women may not fight, but they give the state all its soldiers.”

Lady Henry Somerset says: “She who bears soldiers does not need to bear arms.”





Lucy Stone said: "Some woman risks her life whenever a soldier is born into the world. For years she does guard duty beside his cradle. Later on she gets his clothes and gathers his food. When that boy becomes a man, must he say to his mother: If you want to vote, you must first go and kill somebody?"

Either the ability to fight is a requirement for voting or it is not. If it is, men who do not fight should not vote. If it is not a requirement, women should not be kept from voting because they do not fight. There is no escape from this conclusion.

Suffragettes or Criminals?

In 1917, many suffragettes were put in jail in Washington, D.C. It was said that their demonstrations and parades in the streets caused disturbances. They were jailed as "public nuisances." Below is part of an article describing the thoughts of some of the jailed women. It also includes a letter of protest which the ladies sent to the government of the District of Columbia.



The government tried desperately to stop our picketing. Finally they decided on longer prison terms. They were indeed desperate when they had to take this cruel and stupid measure.

Our answer to this policy was more women on the picket line outside. We also formed a protest group inside the prison. We decided to demand that we be treated as political prisoners. We felt that this was the only dignified thing to do. We were not criminals. We

had only offended the government politically. We wanted to tell the public why we had been put in jail. We thought this would further embarrass the government. It might speed up its surrender.

Lucy Burns was the leader of the new protest. No sooner had she begun to organize her comrades than the officials sensed a "plot." They put her at once into solitary confinement [in a cell by herself where she could talk to no one and no one could talk to her].

The officials were too late. Taking the leader only hastened the rebellion in prison. A ragged piece of paper was passed from prisoner to prisoner through holes in the cell walls. Finally a protest had been written and signed by all the women. Part of it said:

As political prisoners, we refuse to work while in prison. This action is a necessary protest against an unjust sentence. We are reminding President Wilson of the promises he made before his election about woman suffrage. We are exercising the right of peaceful petition. This is guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. It declares that peaceful picketing is legal in the District of Columbia. People realize that we have been unjustly sentenced.

President Wilson pardoned the first group of suffragists who had been given sixty days in the workhouse. Judge Mulloony suspended sentences for the last group. But some of us have been sentenced to thirty days, others to sixty days for exactly the same action.

We believe we have acted with the highest standards of citizenship. We ask, therefore, to be given the rights due political prisoners. We ask that we no longer be under locks and bars in small groups. We want to be together. We ask that Miss Lucy Burns be released from solitary confinement in another building and be given back to us. We ask to be free of prison



work. We want the right to have food sent to us from outside and to have writing materials.

Our demand for political treatment is late. But we found conditions so bad when we entered the workhouse that we had to make a stand for ordinary rights of human beings for all inmates. Only afterwards could we make our demands as political prisoners.

The commissioners are requested to send us a reply so that we may know this protest has reached them.

There was never a reply to this letter. The women were not only refused the privileges asked. They were denied some of the usual privileges given ordinary criminals. The women were quickly taken with Miss Burns to a new jail. There they were all put in solitary confinement.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Palmer Raids



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Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago, 1923.

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1. What was happening in the nation that might have caused some people to support the Palmer raids?
2. How can the government of the United States commit illegal acts?
3. How did Louis F. Post expose the injustices of Attorney General Palmer?
4. Could something like the Palmer raids ever happen again in the United States? Explain.

The Palmer Raids

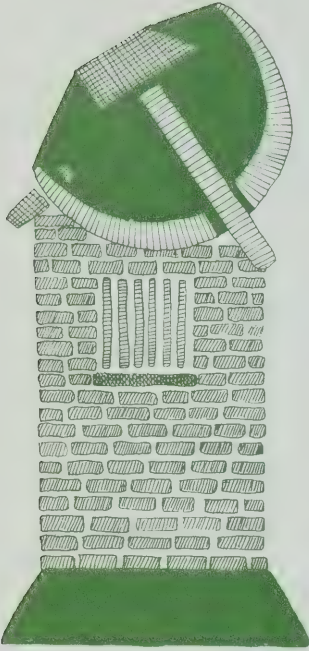
Charges Against the Department of Justice

In the fall of 1919, a great "Red" scare swept the country. A revolution had just occurred in Russia. The symbol of the revolution was a red flag. People who wanted to start a revolution against the government in the United States were called Reds. There had been some bombings by radicals. But the attorney general, A. Mitchell Palmer, got very excited. He believed that most foreign-born people might be Reds, so he sent police to arrest them. All over the country, many innocent foreign-born people were taken from their homes. They were put in prison. Some were even sent back to their homeland. That is, they were deported. All this was done without trial or evidence.

Finally, a group of the nation's most respected lawyers wrote a report. In it, they declared that the Justice Department had committed unjust acts. The lawyers said this was against the Constitution. Part of the report they wrote is below.

The document was addressed to the American people. It points out the six counts of illegal acts charged against the Justice Department.





First Count: Cruel and unusual punishments including torture. This is against the Eighth Amendment to the American Constitution.

Second Count: Arrests without warrants and raids upon public meetings. This is against the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution.

Third Count: Unreasonable searches and seizures of people and property. This is against the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution.

Fourth Count: Use of agents who invite people to meetings and then arrest them for being there. This is similar to the way governments behaved in old Russia and Spain.

Fifth Count: Forcing people to give evidence against themselves. This is against the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution.

Sixth Count: The attorney general misused his office. He spent public funds unjustly. He used the funds to spread publicity about himself. He should have spent his time and money advising the government on law.

The report then closed like this: It has always been the proud boast in America that this is a government of laws, not of men. Our Constitution and laws are based on human nature. Free men cannot be driven and held captive. They must be led. Free men respect justice and follow truth. But blind and unreasonable force they will fight until the end of time. There is no danger of revolution so great as that caused by the breaking by government of the rules of American law

and decency. It is a mistake to think that any government official can take unlimited power. That is against the basic American idea of the consent of the governed. The Palmer raids were a clear attack against the holy principles of our Constitutional liberty.

The Case of Louis Wirth

Louis F. Post was the assistant secretary of labor in 1920. He was the official who studied the Palmer raids to find out what crimes had been committed by the Justice Department under Attorney General Palmer. He wrote a book about the injustices which some people had suffered from the Justice Department. Their only crime, in many cases, was that they spoke with an accent or were born in another country. Part of his book is below.

Louis Wirth was a young man who had been born in Germany. When he was fourteen he came to the United States. He lived in Chicago and graduated from the university there. He was a social worker and worked in the Boys' Court of Chicago. His boss said that he was a fine worker. He had a good character and was a law-abiding citizen. His friends said that he was a very bright man. He had the friendship and affection of most people.

Then, in January of 1920, Wirth was arrested. He was kept in jail for five days. The police did not tell him why he was in jail. No one told his friends where he was. It was as though he had just disappeared. While he was in jail, he nearly died from

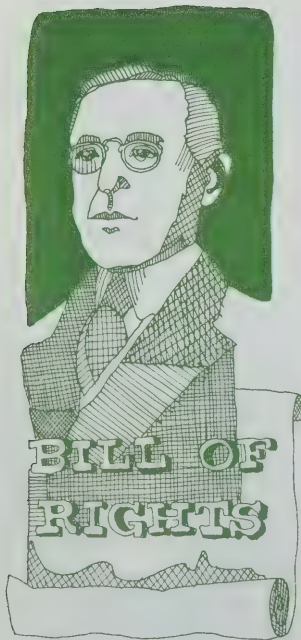


mistreatment. Finally, friends found him. He was charged with being a member of the Communist party. But the police had no proof to give. Wirth told them that he did not believe in the ideas of the Communists.

He said he had gone to a meeting of the party some time before. He explained that he was a student of political science. He explained that he should know something about communism. As he said: "I wanted to see what the party was like. I wanted to see what kind of people joined it. After all, I am studying political parties. No one told me that it was against the law. No one said it would be wrong or unlawful to belong to the Communist party of America."

He was asked if he believed in organized government. He said he did. Then he was asked if he believed in the Communist government of Russia. He said he did not. He was then asked if he had signed a card to join the Communist party. He said that he had not.

No intelligent jury in the world could possibly find this young man guilty on that evidence.



The Attempt to Fire Post

Some people were angry at Louis F. Post. They still believed that the country was about to be taken over by Red revolutionaries. A group of men were angry at Post. They thought his investigation of Attorney General Palmer was disloyal. These men sent a letter

to President Wilson asking him to fire Post. They said he was a disloyal and wicked American. President Wilson, however, refused to fire him. He had the secretary of labor reply to the letter. Here in part is what the reply said.

Louis F. Post is one of the best Americans I have ever known. He believes firmly in democracy. He has no sympathy for anyone who wants to use force to overthrow the government of the United States. He has a deep belief in and love for the Constitution of the United States. He has faithfully carried out the instructions he has been given about deportation cases. Here are his orders:

- No person shall be arrested except on sworn evidence.
- No person when arrested must be held in secret. They must have the right to tell people where they are.
- Every person arrested shall have the right to see a lawyer the moment he is arrested.
- Those arrested must be told why they have been arrested.
- Those arrested must not be asked to pay unreasonable bail.

These are safeguards for every American's liberty. If a person is shown by law to be one who must be deported, then he shall be deported swiftly. We will not deport, however, anyone just because he is accused of being a Red. We have no authority to do so under the law.

Mr. Post has faithfully carried out these instructions. I am sure that he is one of the ablest and best officers in the service of the government.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Great Depression and F.D.R.



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1. What was Hoover's main argument against the changes Roosevelt wanted with his New Deal program?
2. Why would people want changes made in government programs during a time of depression?
3. Why would a president have radio talks such as Roosevelt's "Fireside Chats"?
4. What types of things would Americans have to "do without" should this country have another depression?

The Great Depression and F.D.R.

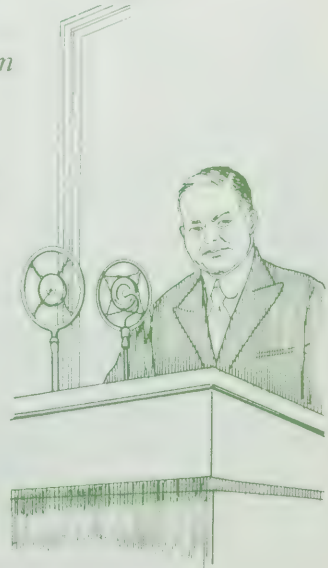
Herbert Hoover and the New Deal

During the depression year of 1932, Franklin D. Roosevelt was running against President Herbert Hoover. Roosevelt promised a "New Deal" for the American people. He said he would get the country out of the depression by changing the economic system. Hoover did not like this. Part of his speech against the New Deal is printed below. It was given on October 31, 1932.

This campaign is more than a contest between two men. It is more than a contest between two parties. It is a contest between two ways of thinking about how government should operate.

I know that this is a time of much pain and difficulty. Many of our people wonder whether our social and economic system can give us a good and comfortable life.

My opponent [Roosevelt] is trying to play on the fears and distress of the people. He wants to make changes with his New Deal. They would destroy the foundations of our American system.



Our economic system has suffered great shocks during the past three years. But mainly the shocks have come from outside the country. I say to you that our system of government has helped us keep the worst of the depression away from this nation.

The changes which my opponent has in mind are deep and strong. If they occur, this America will be changed completely. It will not be the country we have known in the past.

Let us look for a moment at our American system of government. It is an American system. It is different from all others in the world. It is founded on this idea: Only through freedom and equal opportunity for the individual will this country progress. It is only through voluntary cooperation that we can solve our problems.

We should solve our problems through individual cooperation. We should not let government begin to interfere with our social and economic life. The government should not tell us what to do as if we were soldiers instead of free men.

Sometimes in life, forces get beyond the control of individuals and their cooperation. Then the great powers of the federal government can be brought in. This sometimes is the only way to save the community or the nation. But when the danger is over, the government must retreat. The state, local, and individual responsibility must take over and run things.

The American system has shown that it is superior to any other. We should leave it alone. It has proved its worth in the greatest test of our history. That has been the emergency [depression] we have had in the past three years.

Our form of government saved this nation from years of poverty. We saved people's savings. We saved insurance policies. We gave men a fighting chance to hold on to their homes. We started measures which

are bringing back recovery. Employment, agriculture, and business are all showing signs of slow but steady progress. Our great economic wound is healing.

I believe we should keep the system as it is. We should not make new, deep changes in it. This New Deal which our opponents talk about would change and destroy our American way of life.

Roosevelt and the New Deal

Most people voted for Roosevelt and the New Deal in the election of 1932. Hoover lost and left office. Roosevelt became president. In June 1934, after a year and a half in office, Roosevelt gave a radio talk to the American people. It was called a Fireside Chat. In it he reviewed the past year of the New Deal. He also told of his future plans for the country. He had a lot to tell. In one year, the nation's income rose about 24 percent. About 2½ million more people got jobs during that period. More and more people were humming or singing the words of a popular song in 1934. It was "Happy Days Are Here Again." Here is part of Roosevelt's talk.

I have always tried to protect our way of life. In doing it, I first gave people food, shelter, and clothing. In a democratic country with all our natural resources, no one should be permitted to starve. So relief was and still is our first concern. This takes a lot of money and it will continue to do so. We may as well face the fact. This is the price we must pay for those unfortunate years [the roaring twenties: 1920-1929].



At that time, everyone was madly chasing riches they didn't earn. Most of the country's leaders were interested mainly in getting rich.

We shall give direct relief whenever possible. But we shall also give people jobs when we can. This will help them help themselves. If people cannot find jobs in their own community, we will help them find jobs in other communities.

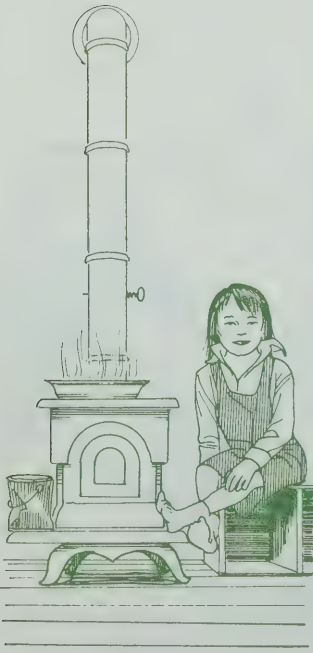
We have also tried to help farmers and workers in industry. The best way for you to judge how well we did is to look at yourselves. Are you better off than you were last year? Do you have fewer debts? Is your bank account larger? Are your working conditions better? Do you have more faith in your own future?

Also, let me ask you this. Have you paid too high a price for these gains? There are those who say you have lost some of your individual liberty. Have you lost any of your rights or liberty or freedom of action and choice? Turn to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution. I have solemnly promised to maintain it. Your freedom rests secure with it. Read the Bill of Rights. Ask yourself if any of the rights have been violated. I am sure what your answer will be.

Living in the Depression

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, many people's lives changed very much. One lady remembers how the depression affected her family in Cleveland.

I remember all of a sudden we had to move. My father lost his job and we moved into a double-garage.



The landlord didn't charge us rent for seven years. We had a coal stove, and we had to each take turns, the three of us kids, to warm our legs. It was awfully cold when you opened those garage doors. We would sleep with rugs and blankets over the top of us. Dress under the sheets.

In the morning, we'd get out and get some snow and put it on the stove and melt it and wash around our faces. Never the neck or anything. Put on our two pairs of socks on each hand and two pairs of socks on our feet, and long underwear and lace it up with Goodwill shoes. Off we'd walk, three, four miles to school.

My father had owned three or four homes. His father left them to him. He lost these one by one. One family couldn't pay the rent. They owned a bakery shop. They used to pay him off half in money, half in cookies. We lived on cracked cookies and those little bread things. So my father was pretty sharp in a way.

He always could get something to feed us kids. We lived about three months on candy cods, they're little chocolate square things. We had these melted in milk. And he had a part-time job in a Chinese restaurant. We lived on those fried noodles. I can't stand 'em today. He went to delivering Corn Flake samples. We lived on Corn Flake balls, Rice Krispies*, they used to come out of our ears. Can't eat 'em today either. Can't stand 'em. My mother used to make the bread, put it under a blanket to raise. Oh, that was tasty. I never tasted such good bread since.

Every Sunday we used to go househunting. That was a recreation during the Depression. You'd get in the Model A with the family and go look at the houses. They were all for sale or rent. You'd go look and see



*Rice Krispies is a trademark of the Kellogg Company.

where you could put this and where you could put that, and this is gonna be my room. I knew where I was gonna have my horse in the barn. My mother'd go down in the basement, saying, "Oh, this is well constructed. This is where we're gonna put the potato bin, this where we're gonna put the onions," We knew just where everyone was gonna be.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

La Guardia Fights the Machine



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1. What plans or programs did LaGuardia describe in his speech to show he wanted a reform in government?
2. From LaGuardia's speech, what actions by Tammany Hall officials could be considered illegal?
3. Would LaGuardia be considered a radical today? Why or why not?
4. What was the main issue in the New York mayoral campaign of 1933?

La Guardia Fights the Machine

La Guardia Speaks

In October 1933, Fiorello La Guardia ran for mayor of New York against the political machine called Tammany Hall. His party was the Fusion party. Just before voting day, he made a final speech. In it, he explained what he would do if elected. Part of his speech follows.

We are pleased to submit our case to the people of the city of New York. We offer a clear opportunity to choose. They can choose a machine-controlled, wicked, and wasteful city government, or they can choose a free, independent, and progressive government. During the campaign, we have presented our position on the major issues.

City Finance

My first job on taking office on January 1 will be to clean up the finances of the city of New York. The machine government has nearly ruined the city. We



have a huge debt. With an orderly, sensible attack, we can improve the budget. With improved credit we can get a lower rate of interest on our debt.

Economy

Economy measures must be taken. But not against civil service employees. Nor should we reduce payments for unemployment relief, education, or other essential services. But the city has been paying for thousands of unnecessary jobs. These jobs were created by the machine of Tammany Hall. They were given as favors to Tammany people. But they had no duties. They were paid for doing nothing. This army of pirates has been feeding on the city treasury; they must be made to walk the plank. I shall see that they do.

We must plan our economy scientifically. There must be fewer political jobs, less graft. There should be careful purchasing of the city's supplies. There must be honesty in construction of public works. The people of New York can get that kind of economy in only one way. Get a government free of Tammany Hall. Vote for Fusion! There is no other way!

Civil Service

We will protect civil servants. They will get promoted on the basis of talent, not friendship. Let there be no mistake about this. The backbone of every city service is the honest, hardworking civil service employee. We will give a full day's pay for a full day's work. We will do this by getting rid of those who get high pay for little work or no work at all. I feel very deeply about this.



Unemployment Relief

I will provide adequate relief, including some cash. There will be more relief stations. People will be helped with rent before they are forced out of their houses. Men and women will be taken care of in a decent and respectable way.

Shake-up in Welfare Bureau

The Department of Public Welfare should have a good housecleaning. The department head should be a trained social worker. Different parts of the department should be combined. This will increase efficiency. It will save money and speed relief.

Public Works

The federal government has offered to pay 30 percent of the cost of labor and materials necessary for public works. I favor using these federal funds immediately.

There are other projects which must be done. A complete new system of sewage and garbage disposal must be built. It has been delayed for 25 years. Schools and a courthouse must be built. The subway system must be finished. These programs will give jobs to thousands of unemployed workers.

Housing

The federal government has offered to help us build new houses. Apartments will rent for \$6 or \$7 a room per month. They are for working people who cannot pay more. Our slums must be cleared. I propose we



get a group of experts to direct the New York City slum-clearance program.

Social Services

I promise to maintain the social services of the city on the highest possible level. Hospitals, clinics, health bureaus, and child-care agencies will be open to the needy.

Education

The Tammany candidate for mayor of the Bronx declared that free public education beyond the age of fourteen is not an American ideal. I firmly disagree with him. I thoroughly believe in equal opportunity for higher education to all American youth. I will fight for it. I will use all of the power of the mayor's office to guard this opportunity.

Boss Rule

The fundamental issue in this campaign is to free the city of New York from boss rule and machine government. I have said over and over that only a Fusion administration can do this.

Fusion owes no debt to gangsters, a Fusion administration can and will break the bond between gangsters and politicians.

I will put an end to the Tammany system. I cannot say this too strongly. Bosses and political bums must go.



The New York Times Writes About La Guardia

This is a report on a La Guardia speech of October 1933. It was made by the New York Times Magazine. The Times reporter also made some remarks about La Guardia himself. Here is part of the article.

As a speaker, La Guardia isn't very dignified. He is loud and forceful. He pounds the speaker's desk. He shouts until at times his voice breaks. His dark hair becomes mussed. His eyes flame and his underlip shoots out angrily. He has the spirit of a Christian soldier about him. His words move his audience very much. As a result, his meetings are marked by wild applause and shoutings.

Personally he has much charm. One can feel his sincerity at once. He is quick in his movements.

"We must not only kick out Tammany," he said. "We must reorganize the city. In every department of city government there are hundreds of useless employees. Men and women are filling jobs just because they are relatives or friends of politicians. They must go.

"Would you say these ideas are radical? You know I have been pronounced dangerous. I suppose I really am dangerous. But I'm not dangerous to honest men, whether they be poor or rich. I have been dangerous to crooks, no matter how high their position. Perhaps I have been radical also. I have been for policies which were adopted several years after I proposed them. I have been radical in fighting against existing evils."



Social Science Satellite Kit

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Martin Luther King and the Bus Boycott



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Questions

1. Why did black people in Montgomery walk everywhere rather than ride on city buses? How did this help end segregation on buses?
2. What other means, besides nonviolent protest, could have been used to end segregation on buses?
3. Why did Martin Luther King, Jr. tell black people how to act on integrated buses?
4. Why did Martin Luther King, Jr. ride the first integrated bus in Montgomery?

Martin Luther King and the Bus Boycott

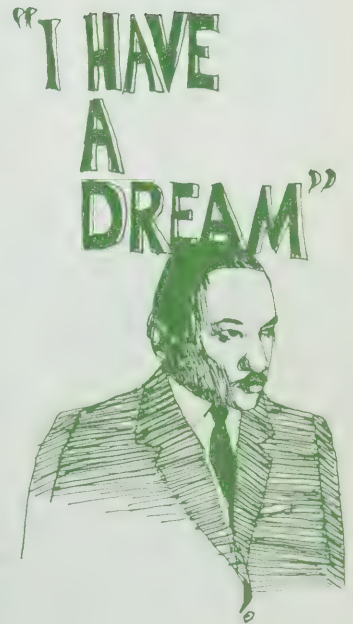
Telling the Good News

The following stories are taken from parts of a book by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. It is called Stride Toward Freedom. In these stories, the Reverend King describes the long fight of blacks against segregated buses in Montgomery, Alabama. In the first part, he tells how all blacks felt when news came saying the Supreme Court had declared that segregation was against the Constitution.

In the second, he gives suggestions to blacks on how they should act when they go on unsegregated buses for the first time.

The third story deals with what happened on that first day when blacks could sit anywhere on buses.

For more than twelve months now, we, the Negro citizens of Montgomery, have been engaged in a nonviolent protest against the injustices and indignities experienced on city buses. We came to see that in the long run, it is more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation. So in a quiet, dignified manner, we





decided to substitute tired feet for tired souls and walk the streets of Montgomery until the sagging walls of injustice had been crushed.

These twelve months have not been easy. Our feet have often been tired. We have struggled against tremendous odds to maintain alternative transportation. We can remember days when unfavorable court decisions came upon us like tidal waves leaving us treading the waters of despair. But amid all of this we have kept going with the faith that as we struggle, God struggles with us, and that the arc of the moral universe, although long, is bending toward justice. We have lived under the agony and darkness of Good Friday with the conviction that one day the heightened glow of Easter would emerge on the horizon. We have seen truth crucified and goodness buried, but we have kept going with the conviction that truth crushed to earth will rise again.

Now our faith seems to be vindicated. This morning the long-awaited mandate from the United States Supreme Court concerning bus segregation came to Montgomery. This mandate expresses in terms that are crystal clear that segregation in public transportation is both legally and sociologically invalid. In the light of this mandate and the unanimous vote rendered by the Montgomery Improvement Association about a month ago, the year-old protest against city buses is officially called off, and the Negro citizens of Montgomery are urged to return to the buses tomorrow morning on a nonsegregated basis.

I cannot close without giving just a word of caution. Our experience and growth during this past year of nonviolent protest has been such that we cannot be satisfied with a court "victory" over our white brothers. We must respond to the decision with an understanding of those who have oppressed us and

with an appreciation of the new adjustments that the court order poses for them. We must be able to face up honestly to our own shortcomings. We must act in such a way as to make possible a coming together of white people and colored people on the basis of a real harmony of interests and understanding. We seek an integration based on mutual respect.

How to Act on the Buses

This is a historic week because segregation on buses has now been declared unconstitutional. Within a few days the Supreme Court mandate will reach Montgomery and you will be reboarding integrated buses. This places upon us all a tremendous responsibility of maintaining, in face of what could be some unpleasantness, a calm and loving dignity befitting good citizens and members of our race. If there is violence in word or deed it must not be our people who commit it.

For your help and convenience the following suggestions are made. Will you read, study, and memorize them so that our nonviolent determination may not be endangered. First, some general suggestions:

- Not all white people are opposed to integrated buses. Accept goodwill on the part of many.
- The whole bus is now for the use of all people. Take a vacant seat.
- Pray for guidance and commit yourself to complete nonviolence in word and action as you enter the bus.
- Demonstrate the calm dignity of our Montgomery people in your actions.



- In all things, observe ordinary rules of courtesy and good behavior.
- Remember that this is not a victory for Negroes alone, but for all Montgomery and the South. Do not boast! Do not brag!
- Be quiet but friendly; proud, but not arrogant; joyous, but not boisterous.
- Be loving enough to absorb evil, and understanding enough to turn an enemy into a friend.

Now for some specific suggestions:

- The bus driver is in charge of the bus and has been instructed to obey the law. Assume that he will cooperate in helping you occupy any vacant seat.
- Do not deliberately sit by a white person, unless there is no other seat.
- In sitting down by a person, white or colored, say "May I" or "Pardon me" as you sit. This is a common courtesy.
- If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back. If struck, do not strike back, but evidence love and goodwill at all times.
- In case of an incident, talk as little as possible, and always in a quiet tone. Do not get up from your seat! Report all serious incidents to the bus driver.
- For the first few days, try to get on the bus with a friend in whose nonviolence you have confidence. You can uphold one another by a glance or a prayer.
- If another person is being molested, do not arise to go to his defense, but pray for the oppressor and use moral and spiritual force to carry on the struggle for justice.
- According to your own ability and personality, do not be afraid to experiment with new and creative techniques for achieving reconciliation and social change.



- If you feel you cannot take it, walk for another week or two. We have confidence in our people. God bless you all.

The First Day

At the close of the meeting, I asked the ministers to stay over for a few minutes to urge them to ride the buses during the rush hours for the first few days. It was our feeling that their presence would give the Negro citizens courage and make them less likely to retaliate in case of insults. The ministers readily agreed. Accordingly, two were assigned to each bus line in the city, to ride mainly during the morning and afternoon rush. They were given suggestions as to how to handle situations of violence and urged to keep an accurate record of all incidents.

I had decided that after many months of struggling with my people for the goal of justice, I should not sit back and watch, but should lead them back to the buses myself. I asked Ralph Abernathy, E. D. Nixon, and Glenn Smiley to join me in riding on the first integrated bus. They reached my house around 5:45 on Friday morning. Television cameras, photographers, and news reporters were hovering outside the door. At 5:55 we walked toward the bus stop, the cameras shooting, the reporters bombarding us with questions. Soon the bus appeared; the door opened, and I stepped on. The bus driver greeted me with a cordial smile. As I put my fare in the box he said: "I believe you are Reverend King, aren't you?" I answered: "Yes I am." "We are glad to have you this morning," he said. I thanked him and took my seat. Smiling now too, Abernathy, Nixon, and Smiley followed, with several



reporters and television men behind them. Glenn Smiley sat next to me. So I rode the first integrated bus in Montgomery with a white minister, and a native Southerner, as my seatmate.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Steel Crisis of 1962



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Questions

1. Was it necessary for the U.S. steel companies to raise their prices in 1962? Why or why not?
2. Why was President Kennedy so angry at the steel companies? What parts of his speech indicate his feelings?
3. What difference does it make whether or not the steel industry changes its prices?
4. Should a business firm or industry have the right to charge whatever prices it wishes for its products?

The Steel Crisis of 1962

U.S. Steel Raises Its Prices

The United States Steel Corporation raised its prices on April 10, 1962. The announcement was made by Leslie B. Worthington, president of the United States Steel Corporation. Here is part of what he said:

Since the summer of 1958, the level of steel prices has not gone up. If anything, it has gone down. But costs are rising steadily. There have been four increases in worker wages and benefits up to last year. This is due to competition from United States steel producers. It is also due to imports of foreign-made steel.

Because of all these pressures we have had to make a decision. But we did not want to do it. We must raise the price of steel slightly. The increasing cost of production has made it necessary.

Modern Plant Needed

The products of United States Steel should compete successfully in the marketplace. But to do so, the





plants which make steel products must be modern and efficient. Only by competing successfully can our company provide its customers with a steady source of steel. Only then can it provide its employees with steady jobs. But the profits of the company are squeezed. They are squeezed between rising costs and falling prices.

In the past three years, United States Steel has spent over \$1,185,000,000 to modernize its operations.

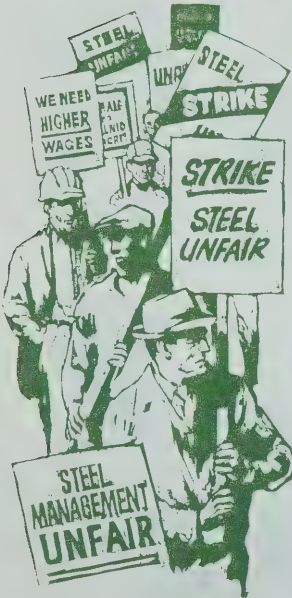
But during these three years, United States Steel Corporation's profits dropped to the lowest levels since 1952.

From 1958 through 1961, there have been industrywide increases in steelworker wages and benefits. These increases have added several hundred million dollars to the employment costs of United States Steel.

In all, we have had an increase of about 6 percent in our costs over this period. But the price increase announced today is only 3½ percent.

We took this decision only after much thought. We know that price increases at this time will add to our problems of competition. Foreign made steel is already underselling ours. But we think this will be only for a little while. In the long run a strong company with a good profit can meet competition. Profits permit a company to buy better equipment and do greater research.

We are constantly developing lighter and stronger steel. It will do more work and go farther than steels that have been on the market. This allows us to give the customer more value for his dollar. But this development of new steels can only come about through profits or the hope of profits.



President Kennedy Replies

When the United States Steel Corporation announced its rise in prices, President Kennedy angrily called a news conference. Here is part of what he said to the reporters in Washington, D.C.

Good afternoon. I have several announcements to make.

United States Steel and other steel companies have increased steel prices by some \$6 a ton. There is no excuse for such an act. It is not in the public interest.

This is a serious hour in our nation's history. We face difficult times in Berlin. We have troubles in Southeast Asia. We ask our men to leave their homes and families for months on end to join our armed forces. Servicemen risk their lives in Vietnam. We are asking union members to hold down their wages. This is a time when every citizen is being asked to sacrifice a little. For this reason, the American people will find it hard, as I do, to accept the price raise. It was decided by a tiny handful of steel executives. Their greed for power and profit is greater than their concern for the public. They have shown that they care nothing for the welfare of 185 million Americans.

This rise in the cost of steel will raise the cost of homes, autos, and appliances. It will raise the cost of most other items for every American family. It will increase the cost of machinery and tools. It will seriously cripple our efforts to fight inflation. It will add, Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara tells me, about one billion dollars to the cost of national defense.





A rise in steel prices will make it more difficult for American goods to compete in foreign markets.

Efforts Handicapped

If steel industries raise their prices, other industries and unions will also want more money.

There is no excuse for an increase in steel prices.

A recent settlement was reached between the industry and the union. Many people realized that it would not add to inflation. The whole purpose was to reach an agreement that would make any increases in prices unnecessary. Both the steel industry and the union understood that.

Some time ago, I asked each American to think about what he could do for his country. I also asked the steel companies. In the last 24 hours we have had their answer.

The industry's earnings are judged to be the highest in history.

Ruthlessness Is Charged

The steel companies could be finding ways to reduce prices. They have lower costs. They have a good labor contract. They have an increase in production. They have more profits this year. But instead, huge companies have decided to increase their prices. This is a cruel disregard of their duty to the public.

The steelworkers' union can be proud that it met its duties in this agreement. The government also intends to meet its duties.

The Department of Justice and the Federal Trade Commission are studying how the steel companies' action will affect our free competitive economy. I am told that Congressmen will try to find out how it is

possible for price decisions like this to be made so quickly. They will also study to see what laws we may need to protect the public interest.

Price and wage decisions in this country are usually made freely and privately. So they should be. But the American people have a right to expect something in return for that freedom. They expect a higher sense of business responsibility. Businessmen have a responsibility for the welfare of their country. They have not shown it very much in the last two days.

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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

Blacks Challenge the Social System



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Questions

1. What is the main difference between supporters of the Black Power movement and followers of Martin Luther King?
2. Why did Martin Luther King, Jr. say America gave black people a "bad check"?
3. What similarity is there between the demands of Martin Luther King, Jr., the Black Power groups and the Urban Coalition?
4. What are the main goals of the Urban Coalition program?

Blacks Challenge the Social System

What Does Black Power Mean?

In September 1966, the slogan "Black Power" was invented by Stokely Carmichael, a black leader. The slogan caused fear and confusion among both whites and blacks. What did it mean, they wondered. Here Carmichael and his friend Charles Hamilton explain what is meant by Black Power.

The term *Black Power* is a call to all black people in this country. It is a call to unite. They must recognize their history and their culture. *Black Power* reminds them that they must build a black community. They must decide what kind of life they want to lead. They must form organizations that will help them get that kind of life.

The idea of Black Power is based on this belief. The only way blacks can take part in American life is by showing how strong they are. Blacks must be strong enough as a group to keep other groups from bothering them.

The idea of Black Power frightened some white people. They knew it meant that blacks would now



fight back. Whites knew that this is what *they* would have done years ago. They would not have kept still under the injustices done to blacks. Those of us who preach Black Power are quite sure of one thing. We cannot take a nonviolent approach to civil rights any longer. It doesn't do any good.

It is as clear as glass to us. Society will not exist without justice. There will be no peace in the streets. There will be no peace in the schools. There will be no peace in the churches. White people must stop messing with black people and allow them justice. Otherwise blacks will fight back!



I Have a Dream

In Washington, D.C., on August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 persons took part in a march for jobs and freedom. This was one hundred years and eight months after the Emancipation Proclamation freed the slaves. But blacks were still suffering from economic and legal injustices. The march was formed to make Congress deal finally with problems of civil rights and poverty. In front of a statue of Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Jr., made a famous speech. Part of it is below.

We stand before the statue of a great American. One hundred years ago, he signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This proclamation freed the slaves. It was a light of hope to millions of Negro slaves. It was a happy daybreak to the long night of slavery.

But one hundred years later, we must face this fact. The Negro is still not free. The Negro is still crippled by segregation and discrimination. The Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty. All around him is a white

ocean of prosperity. The Negro still is lost in a corner of American society. He is still a stranger in his own land. We have come here today to protest this.

In a way, we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. The men who wrote the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence made us a promise. Indeed, they gave us a check on the future. It was a promise that all men would be guaranteed certain rights. That is, they could never be taken away. These rights were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It is plain to see that America did not keep this promise. Instead, America gave the Negro people a bad check. But we refuse to believe that America has become so mean and so poor that it will not change its mind. So we have come to cash this check. The check will give us the riches of freedom and the safety of justice.

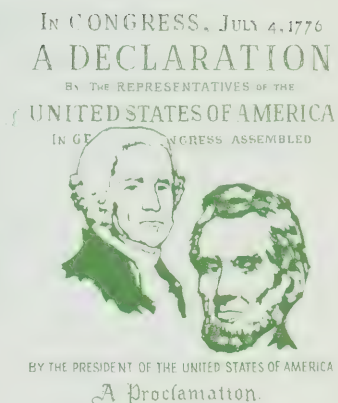
We have also come to the capital of our country to remind America that we want justice now. *Now* is the time to make real the promises of democracy. *Now* is the time to open the door of opportunity to all of God's children. *Now* is the time to destroy racial injustice. *Now* is the time to build a brotherhood between black and white.

In fighting for our rights, we must not hate. We must not be bitter. We must not take part in violence. We must again and again face our problems with soul force. We must not use physical force.

I know, my friends, that we do have difficulties and frustrations. But still I have a dream. It is the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation really will practice what it preaches. It preaches that all men are created equal. I dream that one day this will be true.

I have a dream that one day my four little children will be judged by their kindness and their goodness



and not by the color of their skin.

When we let freedom ring, it rings from every village, every state, and every city. We will speed up the day when all of God's children will join hands. There will be Jews and gentiles, black men and white men. There will be Protestants and Catholics. All these people will join hands and sing the old Negro hymn. Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.

Things That Must Be Done



In answer to the rising black discontent, a group of people held an emergency meeting in Washington, D.C., in 1967. They were called the Urban Coalition. That is, they were people who represented all the different people who live in a large city. They had one thing in common. They wanted to improve the lives of everyone, particularly blacks who live in American cities. Below is part of what they declared should be done.

- Government and business must end the shame of poverty which exists in this rich land. All Americans should have the chance to earn a good income.
- Efforts must be made to let all citizens, including those in the ghettos, have a chance to shape and direct the society they live in.
- The federal government should develop an emergency work program. It would provide jobs and

new training for the unemployed. The program should provide jobs that mean something. They should not be just jobs that are dead-end or just make-work projects. The job should train a person to go on to an even better job.

- With government help we will go into the ghettos and city slums. We will seek out the unemployed. We will help them get into jobs and job training programs. To do this, we will promote "Earn and Learn Centers" in slum areas.

- We will work with educators to interest young people in staying in school. We will try to keep them from dropping out. We will also try to give quality education to the poor as well as those who are better off.

- We call on government at all levels, business, labor, religious and civil rights groups to help. We call on all Americans to help with the same spirit they have shown in past emergencies, because we are now in an emergency. We are sure that our society has the know-how to rebuild our cities. We can do that and still meet our other duties as a nation.

We have shown strength and progress in meeting past crises in our national life. From this present crisis we can build new cities, cities that are not places of riots and fear. They will be cities of hope and opportunity.

This job will not be easy. We are facing a crisis. The needs are great. They must be met now. The hour is late.

But we pledge ourselves to work for as long as it takes to do the job. We ask for the help of Congress and of the nation.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Are Governed Now Volume I



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Report of the National Advisory Committee on Civil Disorders, Washington, 1968.

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Questions

1. What kind of persons are rioters and counter-rioters?
Why is this important to know?
2. How is it possible that one small act can trigger the type of riots that occurred in 1967?
3. Are riots ever justified? Explain.
4. What difference would it make if the U.S. became two countries, divided into one black country and one white?

How People Are Governed Now

Volume I

A Report on Civil Disorder

During the summer of 1967, riots flared all over the United States. The worst ones were in Newark, New Jersey, and Detroit, Michigan. President Lyndon Johnson appointed a commission, a group of men, to study the causes of the riots. He asked them to find out how the causes of the riots could be cured. Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois was chairman of the group. The commission said that only a great deal of money could solve the problems of civil unrest. Here is part of what the commission found.

What Kind of Person Is a Rioter?

The typical rioter in the summer of 1967 was a black. He was an unmarried male between the ages of 15 and 24. He was not a migrant. He was born in the state. He lived all his life in the city where the riot took place. Usually he had not graduated from high school. But he had more education than most blacks in the inner city.



He feels strongly that he deserves a better job. He feels that he has the training, the ability, and the ambition. He feels he is discriminated against by employers because of his color. He takes great pride in his race. He believes that in some ways blacks are superior to whites.

What Kind of Person Is a Counter-rioter?

The counter-rioter is the one who is against rioting. He walks the streets urging rioters to "cool it." This is a brave thing to do because he may be beaten. He may also be arrested with the rioters. In a riot it is almost impossible to tell who is rioting and who is not. The counter-rioter supports American society. He is willing to defend the country in war time. The rioters often feel that the country is not worth defending. The counter-rioter is better educated and earns more money than the rioter. He knows that he has a greater stake in the social system. He has more to lose than the rioter if there is a great change in society.

The Basic Causes of Riots

This Commission believes that the causes of racial riots come from the past. They are caused by the way whites and blacks have treated each other since the United States was formed.

This relationship has been different from city to city. It has differed from year to year. But the long difficult relationship between blacks and whites has created an ocean of anger.

Discrimination and Segregation Blacks have been set apart. They have not been allowed equal opportunity to get good jobs. They have not been given an education which is as good as whites get. They have

been forced to live in segregated housing. They go to segregated schools.

Blacks Coming In, Whites Going Out The second cause is the great and growing number of poor blacks in our major cities. Millions of them have come into the cities from the rural South. Meanwhile the whites are leaving the cities. They are going to the suburbs. So whites live generally on the outskirts of the city. The blacks live in the center of the cities. This separates the races and makes understanding between the two more difficult.

Black Ghettos People are poor in black ghettos. They feel left out and cut off from the rest of life. This feeling wears them down. They lose hope. They finally expect to fail at whatever they try to do. So children go out on the street. They take drugs. They commit crimes. They become angry at society, especially white society.

Dead Hopes Laws have been passed which were great victories for the civil rights movement. But the laws are not always obeyed. They are not always enforced. Sometimes whites find ways to get around the laws. So blacks still are being discriminated against. This makes blacks even angrier. They see the gap between what the law says and what actually is done. The dramatic struggle for equal rights in the South has awakened Northern blacks. They see more clearly now the unfairness of life in the ghetto.

Violence: A Way of Life There is a feeling now that violence is a perfectly good way to protest. This has come about because of white terrorism. Whites fought blacks who were protesting nonviolently. They beat them up and sometimes murdered civil rights workers in the South. White state and local officials openly broke federal civil rights laws. They fought federal officials who tried to enforce the law. This caused some





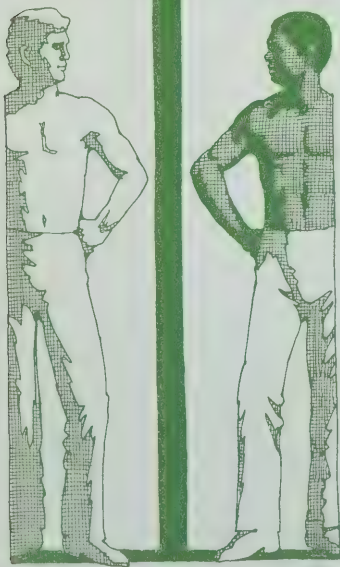
blacks to believe that they must meet violence with violence. Many blacks and whites now turn their back on nonviolence. They go beyond the right of petition and free assembly. By violence they try to force a change in laws and policies which they don't like.

The Police

All of these causes produce a society that is difficult to govern. It is difficult to keep order in it. This makes the job of the police very difficult. Almost always a riot begins from one small act. The riots of Harlem, Watts, Newark, and Detroit, and all the others in recent years, were caused usually by the same small act. A white policeman arrested a black in a black ghetto for a small or minor offense.

Conclusions

WHITE BLACK



The future of our cities depends on what we do now. Since our actions now are so important for the future of our cities, we must understand what is happening now.

- The nation is rapidly becoming two separate Americas—one white and one black. In 20 years it may be impossible to unite the two. America's white society will be in the suburbs, in smaller central cities. Black society will be in the large central cities. Black society will be fixed in its present state no matter how much money we spend trying to fix up the ghetto.
- In the long run this country of two Americas will threaten us with two dangers:

1. Constant violence in the cities. This wears down our belief in liberty, justice, and equality.
2. We may cease to believe in the traditional American ideals of dignity, freedom, and equality of opportunity. Children may still recite the Pledge of

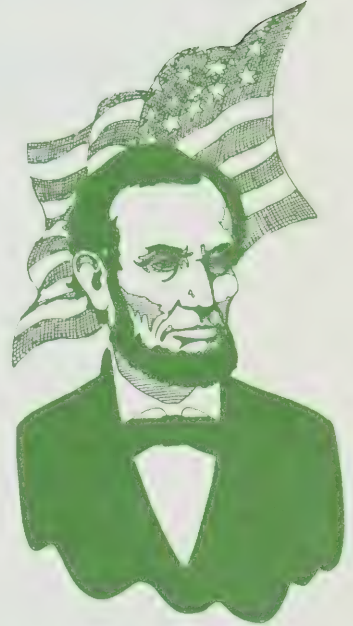
Allegiance. They will say “one nation . . . indivisible.” But it will not be true and the children will know that they are reciting a lie.

- We must decide how we are going to improve our cities and the human relations in them. We must make decisions. We must choose the policies we think will be the most helpful. It is our duty and we must do it. We will choose. Indeed, we are choosing now.

Recommendations for National Action

A century ago, Lincoln realized that the most important thing was to save the Union. We must save it again. We must create a true union and a single society where everyone has equal opportunities. To do this we think the following actions will help:

- Open up all chances for a better life for everyone. End racial segregation and discrimination. Do away with all barriers to color and race. Everyone should have the opportunity for equal education, jobs, and housing.
- Give the poor and those who are discriminated against the means to work out their own problems. In this way we can get rid of that feeling of anger and hopelessness which the poor have.
- We must increase the understanding between races and colors in this country. Let each group understand the problems and hopes of the other. This will help us reach common goals. We will then have public order and social justice.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Are Governed Now Volume II



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1. How could too much power in a nation lead to the ruin of that nation?
2. What does Senator Fulbright mean when he says America cannot act "as the policeman for the world"?
3. What are the differences between Senator Fulbright's position and President Johnson's position?
4. Does America have certain world duties just because it is so powerful? Explain.

How People Are Governed Now

Volume II

The Use of Power Creates Too Much Pride

From 1966 to the early 1970s, a great debate was carried on in the United States. Some Americans thought we should never have gotten into the war with North Vietnam. Others thought that we should stay in Vietnam to help defend the South Vietnamese from the invasions of North Vietnam.

Senator J. William Fulbright of Arkansas warned repeatedly that the United States could not act "as the policeman for the world." He also said that the president had gotten us into the war. He said the president had used too much power. He had not asked the opinions of Congress as he should have. He said we should get out of the country. Below is part of an article he wrote in 1966 in the New York Times Magazine.

It is a service to your country to criticize it. It is also a compliment. It is a service because it may make the country do better than it is doing. It is a compliment because it shows that one believes that the country can do better.



Criticism may embarrass the nation's leaders. But in the long run it may strengthen. Woodrow Wilson once said that there was such a thing as being "too proud to fight." A nation can also be too confident and strong to be silent in the face of seeming error. Criticism, then, is more than a right. It is a patriotic act to criticize one's government. Someone may say that criticism shows a lack of patriotism. I reply: No, I don't love my country if pointing out what is unjust is not loving. No, I don't love my country if insisting it measure up to its best is not loving.

What is the finest image of America? To me it is a group of different peoples and cultures. They are different but they live together in harmony. They have formed an open, generous, and creative society.

We are a great nation. We have a rich and productive land. We have a talented and active population. Surely such a nation as ours can do great things. I don't mean only in producing and enjoying great wealth. I mean also in the areas of human and international relations. We have not done as much here as we could. The United States is so powerful. But with power comes too much pride and rudeness. We may think we are better than any other country. This feeling has weakened and destroyed some great nations in the past.

When one has power, he sometimes feels superior to others. It makes people think they know what is best for others. They try to make other people behave like they behave. Countries often act in the same way. A powerful country thinks that other countries would be better or wiser if they were more like it.

I wonder if America can overcome the fatal arrogance of power. Few nations have been able to do it. But I believe we can do it. We can be rich and also generous. We can be willing to teach but also to learn. We can be powerful but also wise.



But little by little that arrogance of power is creeping over the nation. It happens almost without our knowing it. Therefore we are not living up to our best ideals.

It is difficult to criticize America. We say that we value freedom of opinion. But when some Americans really do express their opinion, then other Americans are shocked.

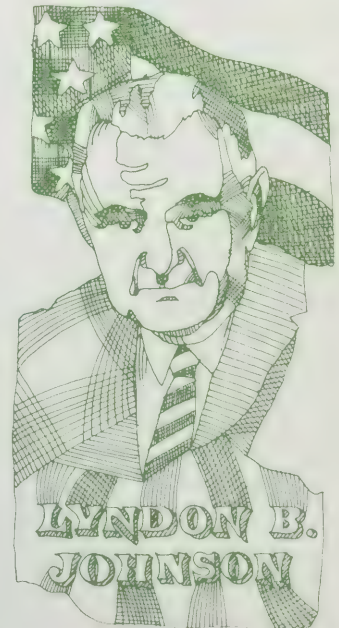
In the past 25 years, our relations with other countries have been full of unpleasant and even dangerous problems. The president has tried to solve the problems. Congress was patriotic and wanted to help the president. The Senate has been given the power to advise the president and give its consent to his acts. But now Congress seems to think its duty is just to give consent with little advice. It also thinks it should give a quick okay to whatever the president does. Congress no longer uses its powers.

America operates best when the Congress fully does its duties. Its duties are to advise and consent about the way the United States deals with other countries.

The Use of Power Creates Duties

On May 11, 1966, at Princeton University, President Johnson replied to Senator J. William Fulbright. Fulbright had said America was full of that arrogance of power which had destroyed other great nations. Part of President Johnson's speech follows.

Now we are entering the final third of this century, and we are still wondering: Can democracy do the job? Neither Congress nor the Supreme Court seems





to me to let the Executive Branch do as it likes. The Executive shows no signs of not caring about our basic problems. State and local governments are more alive than they were thirty years ago. Our nation's business has grown many times over.

The issue today concerns the duties of power. The duties of a society that tries to be just, fair, and human.

How successful have we been in our relations with foreign nations? America has helped many countries to fight the aggression of an enemy. It has helped France, Greece, Korea, Vietnam, and many others as well. In not one is there a government today which is a slave to our wishes. They are not slaves to any country's wishes but their own.

There is a reason for this. I think it goes to the very heart of our society. The use of power by the United States in this century has not led to arrogance. It has led to agony [great pain]. We have not used our power willingly. We have not done it in a foolish way. We have done it without wanting to. We have used power very carefully. The United States of America never tried to crush the independence of her neighbors. We have not had a desire to conquer people. We have never thought that some men are meant by nature to be the slaves of others.

As I look upon America this morning, I do not see a nation puffed up with pride and power. But I see a country that exercises its power wisely. Warlike nations must quickly be met with force. But the force must be limited and tightly controlled. Freedom is still being attacked in some countries. Today it is under attack in Southeast Asia. Yet our power there is used with great care.

The United States did not seek power. But now that it has power, it also must perform the duties of power.

It must fight for freedom when and where freedom is attacked. Peace is not something that is suddenly discovered. It cannot be caught and held. Peace must be built step by painful step. This will take the best work of the world's best men and women.

Social Science Satellite Kit

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Make Their Living Now Volume I



SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.
Chicago, Palo Alto, Toronto,
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Page 3: Hearings before the Select Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, 91st Congress, 2nd Session, on H.R. 14753. **Page 6:** © 1967 by The New York Times Company. Reprinted by permission.

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Questions

1. According to Margaret Mead, who is responsible for the pollution problem?
2. What is the "population explosion"? The "technological explosion"?
3. What does Margaret Mead say can be done to prevent half the world from starving by 1975?
4. Will women ever have an equal place with men in television jobs or in other jobs of the economy?
Why or why not?

How People Make Their Living Now Volume I

Must We Live in a Sewer?

In 1970, Dr. Margaret Mead gave a talk on world pollution. She gave it to members of the House of Representatives in Washington, D.C. Below is part of her talk.

It isn't necessary for me to repeat the horrors and dangers which our environment faces.

But I would like to say that we should not try to blame ourselves or others. The environmental crisis is caused mainly by the population explosion and the explosion of technology. They have exploded and have found us totally unprepared. We were unprepared. But I know some primitive societies that were prepared.

In New Guinea I have seen primitive people practice good environmental control. They understood what was happening in their environment. They knew enough to keep their drinking water from being polluted. They knew that the world is incapable of supporting endless numbers of people.



As people's lives change quickly, they have trouble dealing with environmental problems. We have brought primitive peasant peoples used to living in the country into cities. They always threw their garbage out the window in the country. Pigs ate it there. In the city they still threw garbage out the window. But there were no pigs in the city to get rid of the garbage.

As a people, most Americans came from small communities in Europe. Tradition ruled how houses were built. It ruled how people behaved. To many Europeans their community was a dangerous jungle. Enemies lurked everywhere. They tried to make their house strong against invasion. They tried to make a nest in the jungle. We have brought some of those ideas to America. Each person is still trying to build himself a small castle in the jungle. Most Americans do not pay any attention to what happens to anyone else.

Who Is to Blame?

Each part of the community has tried to blame another part for what has happened. Industry gets blamed. But the community does not try to cooperate to cure the problem. As long as we blame industry and do nothing about it, nobody has to do anything about it. So, we failed to see the consequences from which we are all suffering.

Widespread education about pollution is necessary. People haven't yet realized how difficult it is to fight pollution. It is going to be a long and constant activity. It's also going to be very boring. It is going to be like housekeeping. You know in housekeeping the dishes are never done.

World Housekeeping

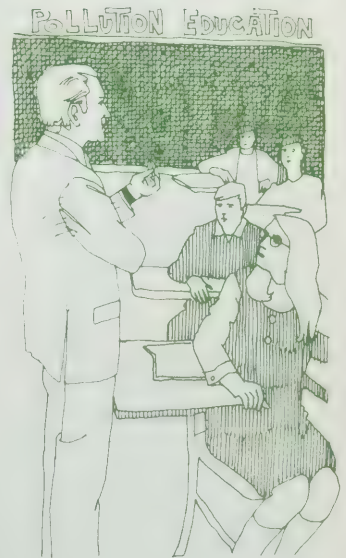
It really is world housekeeping. We talk about pollution or the ruin of the oceans. We talk about man not being here at all in fifty years. This sounds very dramatic. But suppose we get the first laws passed about world pollution. Suppose we establish monitoring systems all over the world to check on pollution levels. Even when we get all this, we still have the problem of keeping them up. These laws must be enforced. The monitoring systems must be maintained. Americans are bad about maintenance. We usually spot a danger. Then we get very excited and pass a bill. Then we take our marbles and go home.

This kind of thing won't work in the environment. Short-term checks on pollution will not work. The system must be made to work for years. If not, every polluter will be back in five years cheerfully polluting again.

Nationwide Education

To solve the problem, we need educated people. We need for children and high school students and college students to understand the problem. We especially need the schoolchildren in every community. They will grow up aware of the problems of pollution. They will help us guard the environment.

The danger is so close that we must educate everyone from great-grandparents to young children. We must do it soon. We must do it over the entire country. Everyone should understand soon what the problems are. We cannot have little groups of people in the country who do not understand what is



happening to us and the environment. Some parts of the country are still fairly free of pollution. For instance, the people who live on the plains of Kansas do not realize the dangers of population explosion as well as the people of New York City do.

We must have a countrywide educational policy. Only then can we fight pollution in the most effective way.

Quiet Disaster

I am afraid, however, that people may not believe the dangers of pollution. We keep crying "wolf." But we are still here. Soon, the world population will be about six or seven billion people. Some people say we could then have a terrible famine. It might wipe out half the world population. That sounds frightening. People might jump to prevent it. But probably we will have something else just as bad. But people won't realize it until too late. By 1975, we may have such a scarcity of food that most people will be sick. This constant illness will make their life more sad and unpleasant. The standard of life will sink and sink. Finally some people may realize that this kind of life is not much better than death. So some experts say that life is going to get steadily worse. But we are going to be here.

Where Are the TV Newswomen?

Below is part of an article written by Marya Mannes. She wonders why there aren't more women on TV news programs.

By now, most of us are used to seeing very serious groups of men on TV tell us what the year will bring. They tell us what last year meant. Most of them have been men. Most of the men are mature and experienced. They know their business. But the fact is that it is the men who bring us the message.

Is it because there are no women of equal knowledge? Are they unable to speak well on politics or economics or social conditions? Perhaps. But no matter how good a woman is, it is hard for her to get one of the top jobs in TV journalism. Of course, TV officials deny this. But it is so.

One of the arguments against using women is this. Women, men say, cannot be trusted to know facts when they see them. A woman is not supposed to give her opinions on TV unless it is part of her "role" as a woman. She is not supposed to give, it seems, opinions about life and death, war and peace, truth and lies. Women, say some men, might not be able to view these things without becoming hysterical. There are other reasons why few women are TV journalists. One high TV official once said: "People don't want to look at older women, particularly if they are serious." That answer leads to another. If women speak in a firm confident voice, it reminds men of their wives and mothers. They just don't want to hear that voice in their ears. Alas, they may have a point. They have had to develop an automatic shutoff at home. They don't want to hear any information from women on the little screen.

Many women say they would rather listen to a man than a woman. This is particularly true in TV commercials. But is this true in world affairs too?

This isn't the case in other countries. In Sweden and the Soviet Union, many women are TV broadcasters and commentators. Sex and age don't matter as long as a woman knows her job.



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Page 3: House Document No. 1, Congressional Record, January 4, 1965. **Page 4:** Report of the President's National Goals Research Staff, Washington, 1970.

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Questions

1. Why should a president try to identify goals for himself and the nation?
2. Which goals of Nixon and Johnson are similar?
3. How might a president move toward achieving his goals?
4. Which of Mr. Johnson's or Mr. Nixon's goals have been met? In which areas has there been progress?

How People Make Their Living Now Volume II

The Presidents Johnson and Nixon Search for Goals

Every president always tries to identify the goals of the social system. He tells the people that these are the goals he will work for during his administration. President Johnson identified the goals in his annual State of the Union message. In his message of January 4, 1965, he told the people about the goals of the "Great Society." They were peace, freedom, and the enrichment of man's life. He said he wanted quality rather than bigness. He wanted economic stability rather than more explosive economic growth. He also said he wanted spiritual advances rather than material advances. Some additional parts of his speech are below.

We want to grow and build and create. But we want progress to be the servant and not the master of man. We do not intend to live cut off from our neighbors and nature. We don't want to live trapped in crumbling cities and ugly suburbs. We don't want to live a life of ignorance and empty idleness. The Great



Society asks not, How much can we have? It asks, How good is what we have? We don't want to know only how to create wealth. We want to know how to use the wealth wisely. We want to know how fast we are going. But we also want to know *where* we are going.

The first test of a nation is, How good are its people? To reach the goals I have mentioned, we must have these things:

- A program in education to guarantee every American child the best development of his mind and skills.
- A great attack on diseases.
- A national effort to make American cities better and more interesting places to live.
- An increase in the beauty of America by cleaning up her rivers and the air.
- Development of the regions of our country that have been left behind economically.
- Control and prevention of crime.
- Removal of all barriers keeping people from using their right to vote.
- Honor and support of new ideas and creations of art.
- A fight against waste and low standards of work.

In July 1969, President Nixon said he would form a National Goals Research Staff in the White House. It would try to find answers to this question: What kind of life do we want to be living when our nation has its 200th birthday in 1976? On the following pages are parts of the report which the Research Staff gave the president.

Population

The United States can support a larger population, but does the nation want the crowding and pollution



that comes from our prosperous life? The United States' population is jammed into a few cities. This lowers the quality of life both in the city and in the country. It might be possible to encourage migration from the city. People might like to move to the country or to smaller cities. New towns could be built in uncrowded areas of the nation.

Environment

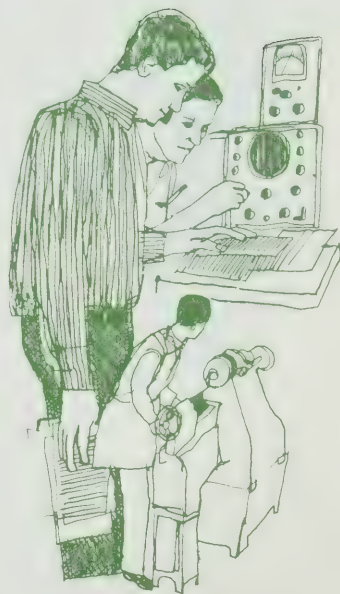
The problems of our environment are caused by our technology and our economic success. They are also caused by our view of nature. We have usually thought that nature must be conquered. Now we must learn to use our technology to bring us closer to nature. We must pay more attention to the health of our environment.

Education

The media [mainly television] bring a flood of information to youth. They show them certain values. Should schools help youth judge and sort out this information and values? Everyone seems to want relevance—that is, they want to be taught something that is meaningful to their own lives. Perhaps schools should teach skills to help students solve problems. This would train students to be more independent. It would develop them as individuals.

Careful Use of Technology

People will no longer put up with the bad effects of getting things done in the name of progress. People are now willing to put off economic benefits to avoid social and environmental costs. A study must be done on this subject: How can we make economic progress





without ruining the environment and society's health? We may have to study carefully the good and bad effects of each new method in technology. Only in this way can we determine whether or not it should be used.

Consumerism

Our economy produces a flood of goods. There are millions of different items. Some of them are very complicated. It is hard for the buyer to know whether the item is good or not. It is so complicated that he may not know what is in it. He cannot tell easily which items are the best. The consumer no longer knows what he is getting for his money. The problem is how to protect the consumer and still keep a good feeling for business growth.

Economic Choice and Balanced Growth

Usually, economic goals include full employment. They include good growth rate, price steadiness, and a good balance of payments. Now there is another goal and that is good quality of life. The people must choose which of the goals is the most important. They must make hard choices.

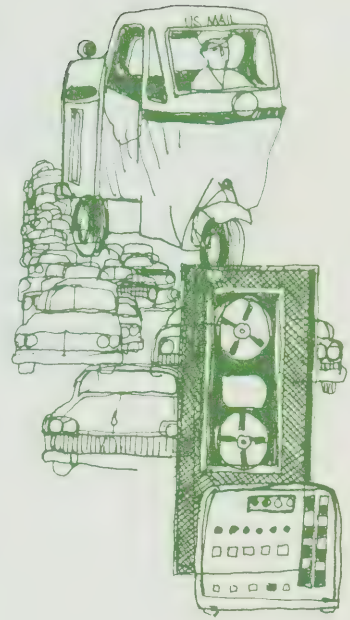
Final Summary

The major lesson learned is the necessity of knowing what goals we want most to achieve. We must also figure out what the social and economic results will be in trying to reach those goals. The American people must decide just what sort of country they want this to be.

The American people can do almost anything if they wish. The public believes this. After all American skills have put a man on the moon. Therefore, people say, Why can't we improve the quality of our life? Here are some things they usually want:

Prevent crime in the streets. Build attractive cities. Get better trash disposal systems. Deliver mail on time. End poverty. Clean up lakes and rivers. Build home appliances that last longer. Make safe drugs. Prevent forest fires. Cut down traffic jams. Cure cancer. Solve the problem of unemployment. Predict earthquakes better. Design computers that don't make mistakes in sending out bills.

These are some of the improvements people want in the way we live and the way we make our living.



Social Science Satellite Kit

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Live Now Volume I



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Questions

1. If most American families have all the material things they need, why should they worry about anything else?
2. What does Mayer mean by "public ugliness"?
3. What do the articles by Mayer, Minow, and Holton have in common?
4. How can America solve the problems described in the three articles?

How People Live Now

Volume I

City Life

The selection below is based on an article by Edmund Faltermayer. It is called The Half-Finished Society. In this selection and others in this booklet, experts in different fields tell us how we live now.

Many experts believe that population shifts in the last twenty years have harmed rural areas. They have also caused more problems in cities.

President Nixon described the problem in his first State of the Union message. "Great areas of rural America have been emptied of people," he said. "Our central cities have shown a failure in American life."

A tide of people from the rural South has come into our big cities. This is the heart of many of our city problems today. More than half of the nation's black citizens now live in the center of cities. Since 1960, these centers grew only about 1 percent. The suburban areas around them grew 28 percent.

Rural America now has only about a third of the population, but it holds about half of the nation's poor.





More than five hundred counties in the United States have lost people. Most of these counties are in the center of the country. They are in Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Texas, and Illinois. Over the past ten years, the number of people in North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wyoming has decreased.

If this goes on, most Americans will end up living in twelve large cities. These cities will take up only one-tenth of the land. But they will hold over 70 percent of the people. At least 50 percent of them will be in three great urban areas: Boston-Washington, Chicago-Pittsburgh, San Francisco-San Diego. People here will earn the most money. Their lives will be the richest in art and in comfort.

Our American civilization is only half built. We have a lot of material goods. But there is another half of civilized life. We have ignored it. This half is made up of human needs that can be met only through working with others.



Our American dream is lopsided. Our homes are crowded with toasters, irons, electric mixers. Our refrigerators are piled high with frozen foods. But outside our doors lie ugly and neglected cities and land. Foreigners come here expecting to find splendid countryside and magnificent cities. Instead they find noise, robbery, polluted air, dirty streams, filthy streets, and forests of ugly telegraph poles and wires. They find city transportation old and broken down. They find parks that are dirty and dangerous. They also see the countryside being eaten up by housing subdivisions. There are shopping centers whose ugly buildings are like barns. Our highways are splattered with enormous billboards, and hideous drive-ins. The centers of many of our cities are wastelands. The worst are like battlefields. The only places where Americans have beautified their country are some upper-

middle-class suburbs. Some college campuses look pretty. But in general many people are shocked at the mess that is man-made America.

Is public ugliness necessary? The answer is no. European countries are governed by men with a pride in appearances. These countries have never lost control of their environment. The United States must define the goals of its free economic system. Is it freedom to make the richest country the ugliest in the world? Is it freedom to shape an environment worthy of man?

Communications

In May 1961, Newton Minow made a speech criticizing American television. While times have changed, his speech is still worthwhile now. Here is part of what he said.

Like everybody, I wear more than one hat. I am the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission. I am also a television viewer. I am also the husband and father of other television viewers.

When television is good, nothing is better. It is better than theater, magazines, or newspapers. But when television is bad, nothing is worse. I ask you to sit down in front of your television set. Sit there from the time your station goes on the air until the station signs off. Do not have a book, magazine, or newspaper to distract you. Keep your eyes glued to that set. I promise that you will see only a vast wasteland.

Is there no room on television to teach? Is there no room to inform? No room to stretch the imagination?



Is there no room for programs to deepen children's understanding of other lands? Is there no room for a children's news show? Is there no room for reading the great literature of the past? Why is there no program to teach the great traditions of freedom?

Science and Technology

Gerald Holton wrote a book called Science and Culture. In it he showed some of the problems of industrial progress. Part of what he wrote is below.

Most people believe that science can solve most human needs.

In the last 25 years, science has given us many new chemical products. There are plastics, pesticides, drugs, and detergents, among others. Great industries like the soap industry have grown up around these new products. They have given us many economic and social benefits.

These advances, however, have resulted in sending millions of pounds of chemicals into the air. As a result, living things, including man, take into their systems a lot of these chemicals. Sprays against insects have killed animals and fish. Chemicals put on farmland may make the land richer. But some of them wash off into streams and rivers. In this way, they pollute and poison water supplies. In some areas, detergents began to appear in streams and rivers and in drinking water.

The chemical industry is now trying to make harmless chemical detergents.

There has been great use of insecticides during last 20 years. This has caused problems. In 1957, the first

extensive spraying with a new insecticide began in the Mississippi Valley. It has since been used a great deal by sugarcane and cotton farmers. It keeps insects from attacking these crops.

In 1964, the United States Public Health Service found that insecticides were polluting the Mississippi River. Fish in the river were dying. The result of using such insecticides should have been studied before their use.



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Questions

1. What kinds of problems might composers, poets, writers, and artists have in common?
2. What words would describe the way of life in a big city?
3. What are some advantages of being or living alone as described by the writer Jack Kerouac?
4. Are the poems of Theodore Roethke pleasant to read? Why?

How People Live Now

Volume II

The Arts

Aaron Copland is one of America's best known composers. In his book Music and Imagination he wrote about some of the problems faced by composers.

Music

The worst part of a composer's life is the feeling of not being part of a musical community. There is no deep need for his work. People aren't very much interested in his work. When a composer's music is played, people say that it is nice. But when his music is not played, no one gets very upset.

Few composers can hope to earn a living from the music they write. Composers make their living by teaching music. They compose music in their spare time.

But there is a brighter side to the music picture. There are many more composers than there used to be. Composers are encouraged to write music more. Foundations and individuals give more prizes and money than they used to give.



Literature

Jack Kerouac was one of the writers in the 1950s who became interested in eastern religions like Buddhism. They were looking for a new way to communicate more directly with their fellow men and with nature. Kerouac spent the summer as a fire watcher in the mountains of Washington. He writes about it in his book The Dharma Bums. Dharma is the word for the boat which Buddhists believe carries man across the sea of life. In the book Kerouac gives thanks to his friend Japhy who encouraged him to go into the mountains. Part of the book is below.

Lo, in the morning I woke up and it was beautiful blue sunshine sky. I went out in my alpine yard. There it was, everything Japhy said it was—hundreds of miles of pure snow-covered rocks and virgin lakes and high timber. Below, instead of the world, I saw a sea of marshmallow clouds flat as a roof. They extended miles and miles in every direction. . . . On my 6,600 foot pinnacle it was all far below me. I brewed coffee on the stove and came out and warmed my mist-drenched bones in the hot sun of my little woodsteps. I said “Tee tee” to a big furry cony. He calmly enjoyed a minute with me gazing at the sea of clouds. And it was all mine. Not another human pair of eyes in the world were looking at this. And suddenly I realized I was truly alone and had nothing to do but feed myself and rest and amuse myself, and nobody could criticize. The little flowers grew everywhere around the rocks, and no one had asked them to grow, or me to grow.

In the afternoon the marshmallow roof of clouds blew away in patches. Ross Lake was open to my sight, a beautiful pool far below with tiny toy boats of



vacationists, the boats themselves too far to see, just the pitiful little tracks they left in the mirror lake. You could see pines reflected upsidedown in the lake. Late afternoon I lay in the grass with all that glory before me. Behind the shack was a huge snowfield that would provide me with fresh drinking water till September. Just a bucket a day let melt in the house, to dip into with a tin cup, cold ice water. I was feeling happier than in years and years, since childhood. I felt deliberate and glad and solitary. "Buddy-o, yiddam, diddam dee," I sang, walking around kicking rocks. Then my first sunset came and it was unbelievable. The mountains were covered with pink snow. The clouds were distant and frilly and like ancient remote cities of Buddhaland splendor. The wind worked incessantly, wish, wish, booming at times, rattling my ship. Somewhere it seemed, a golden festival of rejoicement was taking place. In my diary I wrote, "Oh I'm happy!" In the late day peaks I saw the hope. Japhy had been right.

Poetry

One of the best known poets today is Theodore Roethke. He wrote poems that please many young people. Here are some examples.

Myrtle

There was once a girl named Myrtle
Who, strangely enough, *was* a Turtle:
She was mad as a Hare,
She could growl like a Bear,—
O Nobody understood Myrtle!

She would sit with a Book on her Knees,—
My Poetry-Book, if you please,—



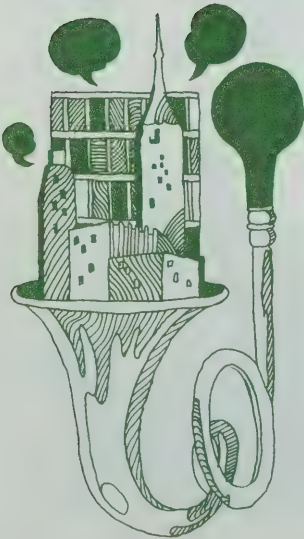
She'd Rant and She'd Roar:
"This stuff is a Bore!
Why I could do better
With only ONE letter,-
These Poets, they write like *I Sneeze!*"

Myrtle's Cousin

And then there was Myrtle's Cousin,
Who *Always* did things by the Dozen;
She would Eat at one Glup
Boiled Eggs from a Cup,-
Oh that Cousin ! Her Manners ! At Lunches!
She'd Dunk and She'd Gubble:
She *was* so much Trouble;
And then without even a Spoon,
She'd *Muddle* the Whole Afternoon
What her Friends *Couldn't* Eat at those Lunches!

The Ceiling

Suppose the Ceiling went Outside
And then caught Cold and Up and Died?
The only Thing we'd have for Proof
That he was Gone, would be the Roof;
I think it would be Most Revealing
To find out how the Ceiling's Feeling.



A Culture of Sounds

Below is part of an article written by a visitor to New York. He describes how a person can tell about the life of a city just by listening to its sounds.

New York City is full of sounds. There are soft sounds and loud ones. There are screams and bangs

and bongs. But the cliff dwellers of Manhattan do not hear them. They have gotten used to them. But these same people would not sleep a wink in a silent forest. The sound of the silence would keep them up.

But the visitor to New York can hear them. He lies wide awake in his bed thirty floors up in a hotel. He can hear all kinds of noise. Usually he hears music. There is the thump of rock'n'roll. Somewhere down in the canyons below there is a loud laugh. Someone shouts. A bottle crashes against concrete. The whine of a police siren cuts the night. It gets louder and louder. Then it fades away.

There are few sounds so exciting as those of a fire engine. It screams through the evening. The fire truck tries to get through the traffic. Now a fire whistle from a corner says yes, there is a big fire. In seconds, the other sirens join in. Soon, other fire engines rush to help.

After a while, things get quieter. Even the taxis quit honking. This is a short quiet time just before dawn. Then there is another sound. It is a morning sound. What is it? It sounds like the roar of some great monster. No, it is just the morning garbage trucks. Trash cans rattle. The metal jaws of garbage trucks scoop up the daily trash.

Now one hears the growl of buses. Now and then, one hears the hum of a jet or helicopter. When the wind is from the river, you can hear the whistle of an ocean liner.

Then comes the rat-a-tat-tat of the concrete drills. They are always digging holes in New York. Then there is a screech of brakes. One waits and listens, Did the car stop on time? Or will we hear the crash in just a second?

There are also the sharp whistles of traffic policemen. Hotel doormen blow whistles to call taxis. They sound like birds in a concrete forest.



The only sounds one doesn't hear are the sounds of children.

Many New Yorkers never pay any attention to the sounds. They seldom stop to listen. They don't wonder if they have to have them. They are not worried by them. They are not delighted with them. To them it's just the way life is in a big city.

Social Science Satellite Kit

THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Behave Now Volume I



SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES, INC.

Chicago, Palo Alto, Toronto,
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Questions

1. Why aren't all people equal in the United States?
2. How is it possible to have, as Gans says, "equality, democracy, and individual freedom if enough people want them"?
3. What part should children play in a family? Why?
4. What problems might be created by too much leisure time?

How People Behave Now

Volume I

The “Equality” Revolution

Dr. Herbert J. Gans is a sociologist who wrote an interesting article about equality in the New York Times Magazine. He wrote it in 1968 and gave his view of what life would be like in the 1970s and what it was like when he wrote. Part of his article is below.

One day, historians will write about the 1960s in America. They may describe those years as the time that America discovered again that poverty still exists in the land. They may also note that many social protest groups appeared on the scene. Some were peaceful. Others were violent. But the historians may also note something strange. Social protest in the 1960s did not have much to do with poverty. It was all about inequality. So far, the demand for greater equality comes mainly from the young and the black. But in years to come, America will face a demand for more equality in other parts of life. It will come from many other types of citizens. This demand will be so strong and so widespread that we can call it an “equality revolution.”

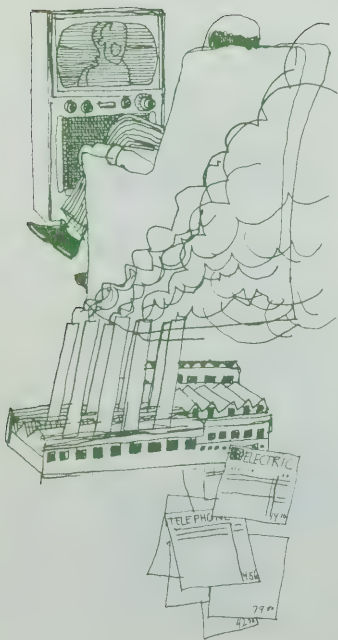


The demand will take many forms. Some will ask for equality. They will want to be equal with everyone else. Others will ask for more democracy. They will want more to say about the decisions government makes. They will want more to say about the rules and working conditions where they work. Others will ask for more freedom. They will want freedom to be what they want to be. They will want to be free to choose the kind of life they want to live. All this means a desire for greater control over one's own life. They want economic, political, and social equality. The inequality in economics and society keeps people from controlling how they will spend their short time on this earth. The Declaration of Independence said that all men are created equal. Americans have usually believed that they were equal or at least could be equal. Of course, the Constitution did not include the slaves. We also know that, in fact, men in America are not all equal.

Ordinary citizens have few rights in actual life. How many can afford to argue with a policeman? How many can afford to hire good lawyers? How many can make their voices heard when talking to their elected representatives? Not many.

There are also inequalities of which most people are not even aware. For example, in many cities, the public transport doesn't often serve the poorest neighborhoods. Really good doctors and lawyers are only available to the rich. Neither rich nor poor have a say about the kind of TV programs they are shown. They have nothing to say about the rates charged by electric companies. None can escape air pollution. So, in many ways, Americans are not free. They are not in control of their own lives.

People have thought that this lack of freedom could not be helped. It was, they thought, part of the modern industrial society we live in. We are learning,



however, that this lack of freedom does not have to exist. There can be equality, democracy, and individual freedom if enough people want them.

Changing Patterns of Family Behavior

Below is part of a study by three experts on how family life is changing in the United States.

One hundred years ago, society was made up of families that acted in usual ways. People in the family acted in certain expected ways. There were habits and customs and the family followed them. Everyone knew what the accepted way of behavior was.

But today, families are quite different. They are so different that Rip Van Winkle would not know them. There are few family habits that are permanent. They change.

Our opinion is that the older, traditional kind of family was found in colonial days. It was also found in most immigrant families. But this kind of family has now changed. The old family used to have a large number of children. There were often a grandparent and other relatives in the family. The father and husband was the one who ruled the family.

The new family is a small one. There may be one, two, or three children. There may be none at all. The wife and the husband equally run the family.

The old-style family ran on a sense of duty. Attention to duty was the highest virtue for family members. Divorce was rare. In the new family, divorce is accepted. It is to correct a mistake in the choice of mate. The reason people get married and





have families in the new family is simply for happiness. There is not so deep a sense of duty about the way people behave in families. In the United States, more people are forming this new type of family life.

Here is how one child describes his family life:

In my grandfather's family, the husband was king. His wife was an obedient little servant. She served him in every way. His wishes always came first. He treated her kindly. But he never admitted that what she thought mattered at all except in household matters. Still, my grandmother loved her husband. She never minded his treatment of her. The children were almost little servants too. But they had a little more freedom. In all things my grandfather's will was the law. This is the way the family ran until his children had homes of their own.

Our family is more democratic. Even the smallest child has an important position in the family. Father's judgment is the final one. However, we children get a chance to make our own decisions. We can also act on them if Father thinks they are wise. Our parents love us. They show it by guiding us, not ruling us.

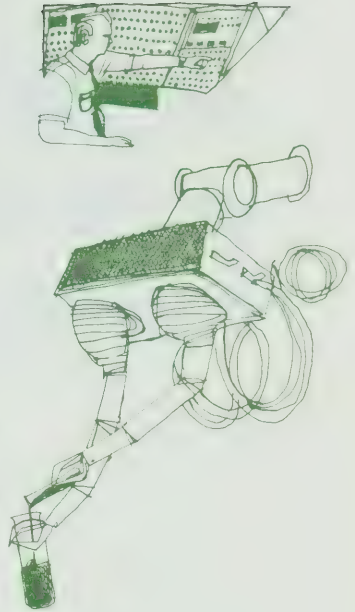
The Way We Live Now

Below is part of a book written by two experts in sociology. In this selection, they write about the way we spend our time now.

In the United States today, the workweek has been shortened. One hundred years ago, people worked about 70.6 hours a week. In 1950, they worked an average of 40.8 hours a week. Most people now have a

two-day weekend. Before long, most people will work a 35-hour week. In the past, people were too busy working to have time for anything else. Now they do have more leisure. In the past ten years, there has been a huge increase in hobbies. People take up arts and crafts. They study photography. People have woodworking shops in their homes. They have hi-fi sets and radios that they operate themselves.

We are today on the edge of a second industrial revolution. Whole plants can now be operated automatically. Fewer and fewer men are needed to run our machines and factories. This creates a new idea about work. Some say that men will now become something like artists. They will create and regulate very complicated machines. Others say more machines will reduce man's importance even more. Man, say some people, will lose all interest in his work. In fact, it may not be necessary to work very much at all. Then man will have more time to develop his hobbies.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

How People Behave Now Volume II



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Questions

1. In the cities, where do most of the poor live? Why?
2. Why are older poor people often neglected?
3. Why do so many middle class people in America ignore the poor?
4. In what kinds of situations are modern big cities unable to operate efficiently?

How People Behave Now

Volume II

Where Are the Poor?

Below is part of a book by Michael Harrington. In it the author gives his reason why we do not see much of the poor. But, he says, they are there just the same.

The millions who are poor in the United States are becoming invisible. They are a great mass of people. But it takes an effort to see them.

I found this out myself when I wrote my first article on the poor in America. I had proved that there were around fifty million poor in this country. Then I realized I hardly believed my own figures. I could prove that the poor existed. But I had never been where they were.

Poverty is often off the beaten track. It always has been. The usual tourist never leaves the main highways. He does not get into the valleys of Pennsylvania. Towns there look like coal towns in Wales in the 1930s. The tourist does not see the company houses in rows. He doesn't see the rutted roads. Everything there is black and dirty.



Also, beauty hides poverty. The traveler who comes to the Appalachians sees beauty. He sees the hills, the streams, the greenery, but not the poor.

People now really are becoming blind to poverty. If they do not see it, they don't think about it. If they don't think about it, they can't care much about it.

A few years ago people were aware that other people were poor. Poor people always lived "across the railroad tracks." That was the poor section of town. At Christmas and other times kindhearted people would bring food, clothes, and money to that section of town. People worked in charitable organizations. This brought them into contact with poor people. Almost everyone then had to pass through part of the Negro ghetto or blocks of run-down rooming houses. They had to do this to get to work downtown.

But now the American city has changed. The poor still live in a run-down area in the center of town. But fewer and fewer people see them. Women do not often shop downtown anymore. They shop out in the suburbs where they live. So they do not see the poor. The children in the suburbs go to school in segregated schools. They do not see the poor. Businessmen may drive past the edge of a slum but never think about it.

The poor, the aged, the minority groups, the disabled are still there across the tracks. They have always been there. But everyone else has gone away.

Clothes also help make the poor invisible. America has the best dressed poor people the world has ever seen. With mass production, clothes can be made in great numbers and cheaply. It is much easier to be well dressed than to be decently housed or fed. It costs less to be well dressed than to get a doctor's care.

Age helps keep the poor invisible. Over eight million of the poor are 65 years old or older. An even



larger number are under 18. The old poor are often sick. They cannot move easily. Others sit in rented rooms. They stay close to a house in their neighborhood. These older poor are out of sight. So people don't think about them very much. They are also very lonely.

The young poor are a little more visible. But they, too, stay close to their neighborhoods. They are not often seen on the quiet streets of the middle class.

The poor have no political power. These people at the bottom of society cannot speak for themselves. They do not belong to unions or clubs. They do not belong to political parties. They have no lobbies to help them. They cannot speak to their politicians for aid. The poor are not seen. Nor are they heard.

The slums are no longer centers of powerful political organizations. So politicians do not have to care about people who live in them. The poor are not visible to the middle class. It is difficult to really feel sorry for something you can't see. So people lose interest in helping the poor. Only the social agencies really deal with this other America. They have no great political power.



Can Large Cities Serve a Free Society?

Many people now believe that life is becoming impossible in big, modern cities. The noise, traffic, and pollution are all making life there unpleasant. Below is part of an article written by Walter Lippman in 1968. He feels that maybe city problems just cannot be solved.

Living in New York City is like living at the bottom of the ocean. People get their air and everything else they need through tubes and hoses. But these lifelines can easily get cut or tangled. This makes life in cities very uncertain. Even Robinson Crusoe would have trouble living in New York, and he was able to live on a deserted island.

In the last few weeks, the garbage was piled up in the streets [there was a strike of garbage collectors]. In recent months we have had traffic jams that nearly stopped all traffic. Schools have been closed by a teachers' strike. The police and the firemen have threatened to strike.

New York is a clear example of how uncertain life is in cities. People in cities just cannot exist without certain services. These services are their lifelines. In the past, we have taken these services for granted. But now, people who collect garbage and run buses and subways have learned to organize. They form a union. They strike. These men hear and read that this is an affluent society. [*Affluent* means rich.] They hear about the goods and services that affluent people have. They know that they, too, can come closer to that shiny, good life. They can do it by striking for higher wages. They know they have power. They have not yet found out how much power.

Two of the best men in public life are Mayor Lindsay of New York City and Governor Rockefeller of the state of New York. Both men are struggling with these problems of the city. But I believe that there is no solution. These problems just cannot be solved at this time. The problems can only be *managed*. That is, they can be kept from wrecking society for the time being.

There should not be strikes against the public safety and welfare. But there are such strikes. If garbage



men organize and strike, there is no just way of keeping them from doing so.

This was the problem which Mayor Lindsay faced. He had no solution. So he asked the governor of the state to call out the National Guard. That was not a solution either. The National Guard cannot collect garbage and operate subways. It cannot teach school. If the National Guard could have collected garbage, that would not have broken the strike. In fact, then all the city employees might have gone on strike.

A great modern city cannot enforce a law against powerful unions. The fact is that in a city as big as New York, only garbage men can collect garbage. That is their power. The individual citizen has no place to burn his garbage. The police and firemen cannot burn garbage. So if garbage men refuse to collect garbage, what can be done? The courts cannot put thousands of garbage men in jail. They cannot fine them all. The modern city is helpless in this kind of situation.

Modern living is dangerous. We are faced with a serious question. Can we remain a free society and still give city people the services they must have?

We must remind ourselves of this: There is no law or book that says the American way of life can solve all problems of modern living.



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THE AMERICAN WAY OF LIFE

The Social System in the Year 2000



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Questions

1. What will be the advantages of living in a future “age of electricity”?
2. What kinds of problems could occur if people are identified primarily by numbers?
3. How can more leisure in the future bring benefits to man?
4. What seems to be the most important problem for human beings to solve by the year 2000? Why?

The Social System in the Year 2000

How We See Our Future

The article below is taken from a book written by two Frenchmen. They say that almost anything will be possible by 2000. In fact, their book is called Impossible Possibilities.

The future is in the works. Its outlines are already clear. But some of the details are not clear. Many products that didn't exist twenty years ago now play a part in our life. Unless there is a nuclear war, here is what the future will be like:

The immediate future will be an age of electricity. In twenty years, we will be using atomic and sun energy to produce electricity. The electromobile will be the car of tomorrow. Gasoline will still be used as fuel. But it will be used in a new and economical way.

For driving on highways, the electromobile offers many advantages. A kind of radar will be built into the car. This will prevent accidents. Journeys can be programmed. Here is how programmed driving works: A man is in New York and wants to go to Boston. He

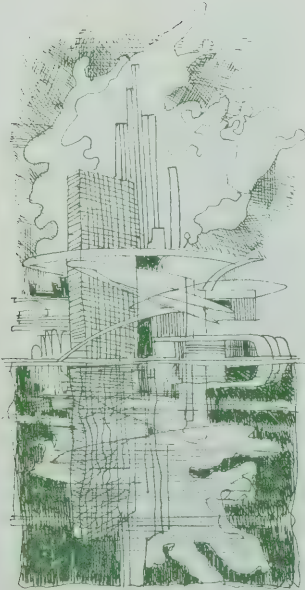


punches a card. Then he sticks the punch card into the car's electronic computer. The car then makes the journey by the shortest route. The driver can read or go to sleep. A driver's license would no longer be necessary. Cars like this have already been tested in the United States.

There will be thousands of appliances like those of today. There will be vacuum cleaners, electric drills, toasters, irons, and so on. But they will be very different in one way. They will not need to be plugged into an electric current. They will have a built-in source of energy.

Housework will be easier. Air pollution will disappear. Housing developments will have all comforts. They will have refrigerators, air conditioning, and television sets.

In underdeveloped countries, life will be completely changed by electricity. It will be possible to produce artificial manure and build up industries.



The Battle of the Waters Will Be Won

In twenty years, there will be a cold war over the use of water. The world is already suffering from a lack of drinking water. In 2000, the lack will be even greater. Seawater must be changed into drinking water. It can be done by using electricity. An electric, paperlike sheet will filter seawater. It will let pure water through but will pick up the salts dissolved in it. In this way, iodine, magnesium, gold, and other useful substances can also be filtered from the water. Giant power plants will pump out whole rivers of drinking water from the sea. New cities will rise on the banks of these rivers. Deserts will bloom with flowers.

The Russians are building a plant to take drinking water from the Caspian Sea. It will supply 25 million gallons of drinking water every day. The Americans are planning still larger plants to take salt from seawater. They will be in Israel, Egypt, Mexico, and North Africa. These plants will be as familiar to people of 2000 as steelworks are to us.

How Does One Avoid Being a Number?

The population explosion will still be going on. There will be millions more people on earth. How can one person make his own needs heard among all those people? The danger is that he won't be a person. He will be a number.

The man of 2000 will carry a number around with him all his life. It will have about ten figures on it like a license plate. His number will be printed on an identification card. Each figure will mean something. When he shows it, he can cash a check at any bank anywhere in the world. The number will indicate the type of his blood. It will give his medical history. It will show his citizenship. A man may be guilty of a crime. If his number is given to the police, everyone will be on the lookout for him. Giant computers will store information on every person's number. In seconds, it can give information on a man's profession, the way he lives, and so on.

But men will be more than just numbers. Men can defend themselves against society. Society may become fatherly toward them but too powerful.

In 2000, each individual will have a protector. It will be an "ombudsman." He is an official whose job is to defend a person against the government. This person must be honest and wise. The ombudsman is a little





like a lawyer. But he is elected. The ombudsman takes every case without charge. Anyone who feels that he has been treated unfairly may go to the ombudsman.

The idea of the ombudsman started in Scandinavia. But the desire for it is growing in Europe. Specialists say that there should be one ombudsman for every 6,000 citizens.

In 1984, all people will not need to be simply a number. They can have their rights protected by their ombudsman.

Problems That Have Solved Themselves

For many years, people who disliked youth, freedom, and beauty said that man could not stand being idle. They said that if people didn't work a five-day week, our youth would go mad. The same thing was said in the nineteenth century about the 52-hour week. In 2000 they will have a 24-hour week. It will not lead to ruin. The truth is that leisure and vacations will give people time to think and plan. It will cause one of the greatest periods of mental activity in the history of mankind.

Forecasts

The following is part of some forecasts made by people writing in the magazine The Futurist.

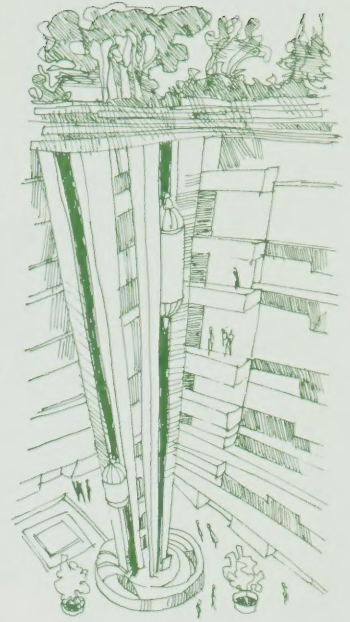
Dennis Gabor: People will probably be tired of automobiles by the year 2000. The car's usefulness is almost gone in that they do not save time. There are

traffic jams on all roads leading in and out of our great cities. People can get places far quicker by taking buses and other forms of public transport.

Glenn Seaborg: In the future it is possible that our cities will be underground. With the atom bomb, huge tunnels and caves can be created underground. Houses, factories, and schools could be built there. Cities would offer many advantages.

Many of our modern buildings have no windows. They are air conditioned. Living in them today is very much like living in an underground city. The dense roof of rock would be a good protection against the polluted air that society is creating.

Man could move into underground cities. Then the surface would return to the wilderness it used to be before man came. Man could easily move from the underground city back to the wilderness. He would simply ride an elevator to the top.



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